STACK 3

the Afro-Asian Journalist

No. 7
November/
December
1964

Page

1. Ceylon Journalists 3
2. Report from Zimbabwe 5
3. The Case of Robert Sobukwe 8
4. Indonesian Press 11
5. Peking Symposium 14
6. In the Spirit of AAJ solidarity 17
7. Japanese people's struggle 19
8. Report, Resolutions from 3rd Plenary Secretariat Meeting 29

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-COLONIALIST | PAN-AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL

DEDICATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR TOTAL LIBERATION AND ABSOLUTE UNITY OF AFRICA

THE SPARK. P.O. BOX M 171, ACCRA, GHANA.

Progressive Review.

- A PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC, BI MONTHLY REVIEW, WITH A SOUTH EAST ASIA BASIS.....
- FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY AND UNDERSTANDING.
- ANTI — IMPERIALIST AND ANTI — COLONIALIST.

PROGRESSIVE REVIEW, 2859 RIZAL AVENUE EXT, MANILA, PHILIPPINES.

Africa Latin America Asia
REVOLUTION

AN INDISPENSABLE ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY WITH WORLD WIDE COVERAGE OF PEOPLES MOVEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS.
REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM AT ITS HEIGHT.

les nouvelles éditions internationales 52, rue galande, paris 5ème, france

editorial

the Afro-Asian Journalist

TOWARD THE VICTORY OF THE SECOND AAJC!

By
Joesoef
Deputy
Secretary-General

First of all, to all members of the AAJA and the readers of the "AA Journalist", I would like to convey best wishes for 1965. Let us unanimously determine to work still harder to make 1965 a year that will yield still bigger and many more victories to the revolutionary ranks of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their great struggle to build a just and prosperous society free from imperialism/colonialism old and new.

1964 has been a year full of the turbulence of people's struggle the world over, against the barbarity and covetousness of imperialism. October 1964 may be recorded as a month full of great events. The playful remark that another "October Revolution" has taken place does not even sound so odd. Mr. Chrushchov, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union and Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union whose power seemed to be rocklike and whose voice was threatening, at times much more threatening towards the anti-imperialist forces than towards the imperialists themselves, has disappeared helter-skelter from the political arena. To us who have always believed in the strength of the people and in a consistent anti-imperialist line, this event has not at all been surprising. We do not feel sad at Chrushhov'v fall, least of all we, the AAJA. We do not feel at all sad because of Chruschov's resignation, the person who deemed it necessary to attack in one of his General Reports the Afro-Asian Journalist Conference as being a splittist movement. Splittists ? Splitter of anti-imperialist forces thy name is Chruschov ! His most peculiar thesis, which is nothing else but turning bourgeois the revolutionary theories, has succeeded in throwing into confusion and splitting up the revolutionary ranks that have been engaged in a struggle in Africa and Asia. He wanted to make us live in peaceful co-existence while imperialism is still running riot on our earth. The revolutionary and armed-struggle line to fight against imperialism is put face to face with the theory of a peaceful "struggle" through general elections and parlimentary "struggle" in order to gain national independence. We have been frightened by him that imperialism was omnipotent and had nuclear teeth. What would have become of the struggles of the Peoples in Algeria, the Congo, Zanzibar, Mozambigue, Cuba, Korea, China, Indonesia, Vietnam, if the peoples of those countries has themselves made paralyzed by the fear of a nuclear-dented imperialism ? But, no, those peoples that have struggled have borne evidence in practice that it is the force of the people who ultimately are the decisive force, the force that will come out victorious in the end.

It becomes all the more evident when we examine at the heroic struggle waged by the people of South Vietnam at this very moment. Based on the experiences of the South Vietnamese people, we now have quite a strong basis to arrive at the conclusion, that there is no modern weapon, not one powerful imperialist country, including the US imperialists who are said to be omnipotent, that can defeat a people risen up in resistance who are determined to carry out a consistent uncomprising struggle. Our highest salutes to the fighting people of South Vietnam ! The all-put sympathy of the revolutionary A-A-A ranks is on their side ! Their only perpective is victory !

Chrushchov has disappeared, and how far Chruchovism has disappeared with its creator in the Soviet Union has still to be proved by the time. He has really succeeded in bringing confusion and split into the anti-imperialist ranks in the world, however, there is clearly one thing he could not prevent, that the revolutionary persistent anti-imperialist line has been carried out everywhere. The people wholly engaged in the struggle at last have grasped that a consistent revolutionary anti-imperialist line is the correct one, is the road that will bring them the victory. President Ben Bella has once said before the Addis Abeba Conference that "we have no right to think of filling our stomachs at a time when our brothers are falling in Angola and Mozambique. To achieve the independence of the peoples still suffering under colonial oppression, we must dare to die .....". Is not Ben Bella here clearly proclaiming that we should be ready to take up the arms to fight against colonialism, that it is not correct to make economic problems (our stomachs) the major concern as long as there are still peoples who are suffering under imperialist oppression. Those words of Ben Bella's are really representing the feelings of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America that are still engaged in struggles !

Another great event that struck October 1964 is undoubtedly the succesful nuclear bomb test of People's China. An event that at one blow has changed the balance between the imperialist powers and the anti-imperialist forces in the world, naturally in favour of the latter. The atom bomb that since this moment is not only in the hands of the members of the "nuclear club" but also in those of an anti-imperialist force, has very much raised the prestige of the struggling AAA peoples. It opens

the road to the holding of a world summit conference, a more effective and more reasonable forum towards achieving an agreement on total prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Wilson's victory over the Conservative Party in England and Johnson's over Goldwater in the month of October, only summons the independence movements to make closer their ranks in facing imperialism that has grown even more cruel. Wilson, who managed to win a victory with the slightest margin is due to be forced in making himself more depending upon the United States, while Johnson's absolute victory only gives him the greenlight to act more arbitrarily during his term of office in his aggressive policy towards Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Another quite important event also in October, was the Conference of so called non-aligned countries in Cairo. This Conference got its significance by frustrating all kinds of unprincipled "peace" concepts with imperialism. The banners of peaceful co-existence a la Chruschov that were tried to be forced into the conference, could be sent packing by the revolutionary forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America present in this conference.

Dear colleagues,

We need not enter into a lengthy discussion of the political situation in this editorial. In the General Report of the Secretary General of the AAJA made during the Plenary Secretariat Meeting of the AAJA in Bandung, November 27-29,'64, which we are printing in full in this issue, it has been analysed rather extensively, how we evaluate the political situation in the world at present. This general report is a snapshot, we could say, of the situation of the AA peoples' struggle against imperialism at present. If we consider the number of 28 resolutions adopted during the AAJA Secretariat Meeting, we can see at first glance what and how this AAJA is. What a militant organisation of fighters it is ! What a consistent anti-imperialist journalist organization ! How it constitutes an organization of genuine AA solidarity, defender of the struggling peoples !

From the General Report and the resolutions, the readers will be able to know the attitude of the AAJA on issues like those of South Vietnam, the Congo, South Arabia, Malaysia, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Venezuela, Cuba, etc, etc. The same goes for the questions of the press, interalia concerning the AAJA's firm support to the patriotic measures of Ceylon's Premier, Mrs. Bandaranaike, to nationalize the press dominated by monopoly capital, the AAJA's denouncement of the Park Chung Hee regime that has banned newspapers and arrested journalists in South Korea, as well as our support to the holding of the Arab journalists' conference which up to the present cannot be carried out because of various obstacles put in the way by the imperialists and their lakeys.

The AAJA has also stated its protest once more on the unlawful arrest of the Chinese journalists by the military regime of Brasil.

In view of the entire situation of the struggle in the world today, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion, that the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the final analysis, cannot be separated from the struggle against the U.S. imperialism, and that the solidarity of the A-A-A peoples in this struggle is a prerequisite for the success of the struggle itself. If we do not define the main and most dangerous one out of so many enemies we face, we will forever miss our target. Energy will be ineffectively used, while our main enemy will stay safe and free from our violent blows.

The Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat in Bandung, it goes without saying, has also discussed problems of organisation and a working programme. The most important among these is the decision concerning the preparation for the holding of the Second AAJC in Algiers next April. Three important principles have been adopted as the guiding principles for the holding of the Second AAJC. *Firstly*, the AAJA Secretariat as a collective body that has been empowered to conduct the activities of the AAJA is fully responsible for the preparation and execution of the Second AAJC. This is only appropriate, since the Secretariat could not drop responsibilities for anything connected with the realization of the Second AAJC. Every intervention from irresponsible side in this matter cannot be accepted. *Secondly*, the Second AAJC should achieve still greater victories than the First so cuccessful AAJC.

This implies that the Second AAJC in mind and in fighting spirit should reach a still higher anti-imperialist tone, particularly in face of the ringleader of the imperialists, the United States, *Thirdly*, the Second AAJC should maintain the unity and harmony among the AA journalists. Any issue that could break the unity and disturb the harmony during this conference should be avoided and resisted most forcefully. Those three principles, I believe, form a sound and important basis on which we will be able to carry out and make to a success the Second AAJC in Algiers. On the basis of those three principles, the AAJA Secretariat is now making preparations for the holding of the Second AAJC.

To all colleagues, journalist members of the AAJA, wherever they may be, we appeal to make these three principles resound, and to work hard, together with the Secretariat, from this moment on, to make the coming AAJC a magnificent success. Let us from now on mobilize our forces, the progressive forces of Africa and Asia !

And we will oppose any attempt no matter where from in whatever form, of intrigues againt our organisation. I wish to warn any side that has wicked intentions towards the AAJA : you will not succeed in splitting up the revolutionary ranks of the AA journalists still less manage to creep inside ! Any of your vicious schemes will work as a boomerang ! Realize this before you will lose entirely the remaining sympathy of the fighting Afro-Asian peoples !

CEYLON JOURNALISTS STRUGGLE REACHES HIGH POINT

Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, President of the Ceylon Journalists' Association, addressing the mass rally organised by the association in Colombo to demand the abolition of the press monopoly.

On October 3rd., 1964, a new chapter was added to the history of the Ceylonese journalists' struggle for emancipation and saving their noble profession from the crippling clutches of the press monopolists.

On this day, over 800 employees, including the journalists, of a powerful local monopolistic newspaper concern — The Times of Ceylon Ltd. — staged a lightning strike against the arbitrary and unjust Victimisation by the management of one of its journalist employees, Mr. Dharmasiri Jayakody, Secretary General of the Ceylon Journalists' Assocciation, for speaking at a public meeting in support of the Government's proposed legislation to break up the press monopoly in Ceylon.

Within less than 24 hours after the strike was started the power and the might of the capitalist company owners melted before the united strength and determination of the workers and they were compelled to withdraw the charges against Mr. Jayakody and waive the punishment imposed on him.

The Ceylon Journalists' Association, the only progressive journalists' organisation in Ceylon and the only organisation which has been fighting for the professional rights and working conditions of the journalists and which has been struggling for the freeing of the profession of journalism from press magnates, who prostitute it, organised and held a public meeting on September 14th in Colombo, the capital city of Ceylon, to support the Government's proposal to break up the press monopoly and establish democratic newspapers.

At this meeting, which was addressed by prominent journalists, members of progressive political parties and leaders of trade unions and trade union federations, Mr. Jayakody, as Secretary-General of his association, proposed a resolu-

tion demanding the Government to smash the monopoly of the Press and set up democratic newspapers.

Moving the resolution he described the viciousness of the press monopoly, how it obstructed national progress and the manner in which it exploited the journalists and denied to them the freedom to write freely. This resolution was supported by 15 prominent trade unions and cultural organisations.

The proceedings of this meeting was partly misreported by some papers while others totally misreported them.

Two days later, the management, by letter first threatened to dismiss Mr. Jayakody and then demoted him from his position, reduced his salary and stopped for two years his annual increment of salary for attacking the press monopoly. In other words, for using, as a free citizen, the freedom of the speech.

From the day the Government proposed to democratise the local Press, the newspaper owners daily carried on a campaign through their papers against the proposal, saying that the implementation of the proposed legislation would deal a death blow to freedom of speech and expression. That it is only they who want to enjoy all freedoms, and not their employees, was amply proved by the victimisation of Mr. Javakody.

The decision to victimize Mr. Jayakody was taken at an ex parte inquiry held by the management.

The employees of the Times of Ceylon rose up in one body against this ruthless victimisation of one of their brother workers, who is a vice-president of their branch of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, and struck work on the evening of October 2nd.

The strike was so effective that despite the all-night attempt of the management not a single paper of the following day was able to be published.

It should be mentioned with regret that a few journalists, who are the only members of the Press Association of Ceylon in the Times of Ceylon company and who have always been stooges of the press magnates, collaborated with the management in unsuccessfully attempting to put out the next day's papers. These journalists, of course, learnt a bitter and painful lesson at the hands of the workers.

By noon next day — October 3rd. — at an inquiry held by the Government the capitalist company owners completely surrendered to the workers by withdrawing all the charges against Mr. Jayakody, waiving the punishment and reverting him to his former post of Feature Editor of his paper — Lankadipa.

This victory of the press employees against the monopoly of the Press, which has been proved to be an agent of imperialism and local reaction, will, no doubt, go into the history of the struggle of the people of Ceylon for political and economic emancipation.

This victory will, also, be written in gold in the history of the Ceylon Journalists' Association, for it is a definite, concrete, encouraging achievement in its resolute struggle against the monopoly of the Press, which struggle is a part of its struggle along with every progressive section of the people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Mr. Dharmasiri Jayakody, General Secretary of the Ceylon Journalists' Association, addressing the journalists and the press workers of the Times of Ceylon Ltd. near the Times Building immediately after the victorious conclusion of the strike.

The British, The White Settlers vs. The Liberatory Movement

From a Correspondent

Reports from Southern Rhodesia say that the black man in Zimbabwe and especially Salisbury is a tormented human being. Nobody, other than the person who owns a house in Highfields, is allowed in this African Township. To identify you as a resident of Highfield you are stamped in the palm with some horrible indellible ink and the stamp is supposed to last for the three months of the state of emergency in this Township. If you are a visitor to Highfields you have to have special permission to enter the township. To have this permission, you must prove that you are not in anyway connected with African Nationalist politics in Southern Rhodesia. If you prove the reverse then you may find yourself in Gonakudzingwa or in the cells.

If you take a bus to Highfields from town you alight at Lochinwar about 3 or 4 miles outside Highfields because the buses are not entering Highfields for fear of them being stoned. Other residents who are hardhit by the buses are those in Mufakose Township who are left by buses almost 6 to 7 miles away from the Township.

On your way on foot to Highfields you are subjected to an uncountable number of searches and interogations by the police and the army. Life has become a torture for the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe especially those living in Highfields African Township. It is also reported that over one thousand five hundred people, including all leaders, have been arrested and it is believed that all these will be restricted indefinitely.

However, the treacherous plot between the British Government and racist Smith's Government on independence has been discovered by the intelligence forces of Zanu. Britains's hypocritical paternalism should stop forthwith. We have lost so much blood that we dare not lose any more by her hide and seek attitude towards our demands in Zimbabwe.

Southern Rhodesia is an African Country and, therefore, we demand of the British Government, a Constitutional Conference, attended by all the nationalist leaders. Britain should realise that it is not a bare threat that the country will be plunged into a bloody revolution if Ian Smith declares Unilateral Independence.

Zimbabwe has shed so much blood now that Britain should by all means avoid further bloodshed. It is Britain alone which can save Southern Rhodesia from the political, social and economic strife confronting the country. If she won't act now the Forces of Liberation shall sweep Zimbabwe of all the filth of Imperialism, colonialism and barbarous

Continued on page 7

SMASH IMPERIALISTS INTRIGUES IN S.E. ASIA

says Chau Yi-chin

At the beginning of August this year, the Johnson Administration, under the pretext of the "Tonkin Gulf Incident", launched a surprise attack on North Vietnam. This is the first step taken by U.S. imperialism to go over the "brink of war" and to extend the war in Indo-China. This nefarious aggressive action has met with the firm rebuff of the army and people of North Vietnam and aroused the strong indignation of and condemnation by the people the world over. The Johnson Administration hypocritically declared that the U.S. military operation was "limited" and that the United States sought "no wider war". This can in no way deceive the awakening Asian-African people.

The sudden attack launched by the Johnson Administration against North Vietnam was not an accidental or isolated event, but a premeditated step of the United States to intensify its aggression in Southeast Asia.

U.S. imperialism has long been trying in various ways to occupy and control the Southeast Asian countries. It fostered the puppet regime and launched the inhuman "special warfare" in South Vietnam to suppress the national liberation movement of the South Vietnamese people and prevent the peaceful reunification of Vietnam. It kindled the civil war in Laos, deliberately undermining the Laotion National Union Government so as to establish a pro-US traitorous regime. It instigated the South Vietnam puppet clique and Thailand to repeatedly invade the Cambodia border in order to undermine the neutrality of Cambodia. In league with the British colonialist, it rigged up the "Federation of Malaysia", with a view to controlling this area and to threaten and oppose Indonesia and the people's of the Republic of China.

In carrying out these criminal activities, US imperialism aim at turning the Southeast Asian countries into its colonies and military bases, plunder their rich recources and push ahead with its plan of aggression in Asia and its global strategy for world hegemony.

A "background material" published by the State Department of the United States in 1951 reveals the US intenton to control the Southeast Asian countries which put together, form the largest rice producing area of the world and supply 80% of the natural rubber and 50% of the tin needed by the "free" world. Recently the New York Times has indicated that Southeast Asia is vital to the US plan of aggression, because it "lies directly athwart the American line of sea and air communications between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The islands of Indonesia form a wall with narrow openings between Singapore and Sumatra is the third most important waterway in the world and its lose would be comparable to the loss of the Suez or Panama Canals".

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance; wherever there is aggression, there is struggle against aggression. Refusing to be enslaved and controlled by US imperialism, the Southeast Asian peoples have risen resolutely in defence of their independence and sovereignity. Having crushed the armed rebellion of the Indonesian reactionary forces backed by US imperialism, the Indonesian government and people, in defiance of US pressure applied in the form of stopping US "aid", continue to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism and persist in the policy of confrontation against "Malaysia". The Royal Government of Cambodia is resolutely defending its frontiers; it has rejected all US "aid and demanded the withdrawal of all US military, economic and cultural organisations from Cambodia. The Laotion people have dealt a heavy blow at the US imperialist plots of intervention and aggression by firmly upholding the Geneva Agreements and the National Union Government. The South Vietnamese people are waging a heroic armed struggle in self-defense against the armed aggression by US imperialism. The "special warfare" being conducted by US imperialism in South Vietnam is now facing utter defeat. It was under such circumstances that the Johnson Administration launched the sudden attack against North Vietnam.

US imperialism is trying to save itself from a fiasco in South Vietnam through the adventure of extending the war in Indo-China so as to retain a foothold for pushing ahead with its plan of aggression in Southeast Asia. This was indicated time and again by top officials of the Johnson Administration. On May 22 this year, Dean Rusk, US Secretary of State, declared that the United States would never

---

1 Indonesia 2 China
3 Japan — people oppose Imperialism.

Continued on page 16

Report from Zimbabwe

(from page 5)

exploitation of man by man. ZANU demands a constitutional conference now. ZANU demands majority rule now.

SMITH SITTING ON A VOLCANO IN ITS PENULTIMATE STACE

All seems quiescent to Ian Smith in Zimbabwe after his savage ban on nationalist parties and hundreds of arrests. He speaks with dominating confidence on his way to London where he intended to blackmail the British Government.

Smith is going to call on Antonio Salazar to buttress his infernal plane. This may not be very easy for imperialist Salazar to stretch his hand fully to Smith since his mind is overwhelmed by the vigorous activities of the patriotic freedom fighters in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea.

The imperialist Verwoerd in the South, is amending his laws every now and then owing to the violent Pan-African whirl-wind threatening to uproot him. Thus on that count, he too will find it formidable to stretch an open hand to aid Smith in case the success in Zimbabwe may overlap into the Transvaal.

An increasing number of settlers themselves are day after day losing confidence in the iniquitous acts of Smith in Zimbabwe. They have goaded their political trickster champion Welensky to sabotage Smith's ambition.

Smith's efforts to distinguish whites in Zimbabwe as the only privileged class has widened the gulf between the whites and Coloured and Asian communities. The two latter communities are increasingly developing coherence to the Africans.

The African opposition to Smith is unanimous, a large percentage of Asian and coloured communities and a considerable number of settlers are against him. This leaves desparate Ian Smith with a clique of imperialists to operate his colonial project.

Ian Smith fails to realise that he cannot provide troops to guard every imperialist's farmer, office, ship, warehouse and otherwise. Freedom fighters can bring about catastrophe not recorded yet in Zimbabwe. The most militant systematic and energetic methods are already underway. Intensive organisation is operating in and outside the country. Such movements Smith regards as impossible and impracticable.

The day will be a great day in Africa when a political volcano will sound out a deafening noise, emit carbon monoxide, making Smith to tremble suffocate and then the paroxysm will gush out with boiling lava and blot out imperialism in our dear Zimbabwe.

VILE IMPERIALIST PROVOCATION NOW LEADING TO AFRICAN TAKE OVER IN ZIMBABWE

The ruling imperialist oligarchy in Zimbabwe is dancing and riding on the People of Zimbabwe with the backing of ultra-modern guns and torture-expert policemen.

The people of Zimbabwe vehemently burst out their political opposition to the settlers through more than four political organisations and all were banned because they did not play the stooge-tune.

Lately, ZANU was denied publication in Southern Rhodesia daily papers owing to the extremity of its personnel and its articles. No oration was published as long as it was flavoured with Pan Africanism.

Although all settler parties are free to hold political meetings to reinforce the settlers with oppressive thoughts, African nationalists were at first told that they could not hold meetings on Sundays and public holidays — days most convenient to most African workers. Later, under the malicious Rhodesia Front regime a complete ban was imposed. This was a cruel effort to liquidate an uprising of the Africans.

ZANU Offices have been raided; the most savage search and confiscation of property took place. In Salisbury alone 100 officials had their houses superimposed with the most embarrasing police search. During the course of the raid, the white police and Security men spoke with shocking impertinence as a master does to a slave.

Freedom fighters, in the event of arrest, are treated with medieval brutality. Dry fists from a sadistic officer punch a handcuffed youth; hose-pipelog naked freedom fighters in a bid to extract, incriminating information from the victim. The weevil infested mealie meal is made into food which comes in such a negligible amount for a large number of political prisioners that the prisioners are well nigh famished and often die.

These nasty provocative instances leave much unmentioned, they have only been written to bring the reader into the picture of events in Zimbabwe.

All this is too much, the whiteman has crossed the Rubicon, however, the African in Zimbabwe has not been following the meekness of a lamb. Intensity of action is at its greatest demand; a complete insurrection, well organised, from Umtali to Plumtree and from Beit Bridge to Chirundu, will culminate in the struggle's final drama and Smith will fall and submerge but Mr. N. Sitole will heroically come to the political apex of Zimbabwe.

SMITH'S INDEPENDENCE

The Zimbabwe African National Union led by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole unreservedly opposes any claim to independence for Southern Rhodesia by Smith's white minority re-actionary Government. ZANU and the African people of Zimbabwe unanimously oppose any such sinister manoeuver by Smith and his cowboys. There are overshadowing reasons for this mammoth opposition to the settlers regime.

The racist settlers of Southern Rhodesia are no exception in the whole world — wide conspiracy of colonialists and exploitors. The white settlers of Southern Rhodesia believe in white supremacy — imperialism of the worst kind. For the seventy-four years that the settlers have ruled in Southern Rrodesia they have aimed at retarding, if possible obstructing, African aspirations, political, educational, economic, social or otherwise.

Under the present constitution, the granting of independence to Smith and the settlers shall be regarded by the ZANU and the African people of Zimbabwe as another British Slave Trade in Southern Africa.

One only needs to understand (i) the present Southern Rhodesia constitution, (ii) the composition of the house of parliament, (iii) the territorial composition of the predominant races, to support ZANU'S stand against Smith's claim to independence.

The qualifications for the present common voters role, which elects 50 or 77% of the M.P.'s can only be afforded by not more than 4,000 Africans (the present registered number of African voters in the Common Role. A. are 2,500), whereas whitemen number up to 100,000. There is also a second rate voters role B. which elects the 15 African reserved seats.

The argument lies, how can 100,000 white settlers and 2,500 priviledged Africans stand to elect 77% of the house of Parliament? How can Africans 96% of the country live at the mercy of a minority settler clique, 4%. It is shameful that Britain had to reserve 15 seats for Africans. This is tantamount to making Africans slaves and orphans in their country.

The settlers, 4% have a representation of 50, (77%) in parliament and the legitimate sons of the soil, the Africans 93% have a reserved representation of 15 (23%).

The whole situation appears very satanic and idiotic for Smith to claim for independence when only 1% of the population of more than 4 million have a vote.

Smith and his murderous gang have tried very ruthlessly to strangle all African Liberation Movements by implementing diverse crippling methods. In African trust lands where the most impoverished 42% of the population inhabits, in mining centres where 7% of the population famine stricken strain and earthquaking drills and in settler farmswhere 20% of our brothers toil day and night under the heavy bales of tobacco, in all these, nationalist parties have been permanently banned from holding any meetings let alone, functioning. And of late, the ban has been extended to Salisbury and Bulawayo.

Continued on page 16

THE CASE OF ROBERT SOBUKWE

For leading twenties of thousands of Africans in protest against the inhuman pass laws in South Africa, in Marth 1960 and for fearlessly exposing the brutish nature of the society which obtains in present day South Africa, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, 38 year old leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, is now languishing in indefinite solitary confinement in the prison — Robben Island-in South Africa, after serving three years in jail.

On this notorious island other revolutionary patriots are jailed. Mandela, Sisulu, George Peake and others have all found their way to this Belsen of South Africa. Torturings, inhuman beatings, and deaths occur daily. The inmates, — the revolutionaries — are slowly being depersonalised, dehumanized. Here, untroubled by outside interference Verwoerd's Gestapo, slowly and methodically goes to work. Having learned with great alacrity their torture lessons from their Nazi masters, they need no extra lessons. The accounts of their sadistic torturings with nightmarish anguish fills the air of South Africa and beyond. How many a martyr has died with the curse of the South African gestapo on his lips ? How many revolutionaries have been maimed for life on that island ? How many families have been torn asunder, how many children reduced to orphans, how many wives widowed ? — How many ? But in spite of all its arbitrary power, its complete control over the physical being of the pattriots in its hands, the S.S. of Verwoerd haye not been able to control the minds of many of the revolutionaries. Herein lies their defeat. Herein lies the ultimate downfall, the final denoûment, the funeral dirge for Verwoerd, for White Supremecy and for Apartheid. For in their failure to control and break down the resistance of these patriots in or outside prison, Verwoerd has gained nothing. Nothing.

36 years ago, in similar circumstances, just before sentence was passed by the Italian fascists on Antonio Gramsci, the Italian patriot, revolutionary and martyr, the Prosecutor just before sentence was passed, rose and pointed at Gramsci. "For twenty years", he demanded, "we must stop that brain from working". The South African gestapo, much more ambitious, and much more vicious has demanded that "that brain" of Sobukwe must be stopped from working for always, for all time "this side of eternity" in the words of the South African minister of "Justice".

But too late. Too late.

Verwoerd & White Supremacy cannot learn from the lessons of history. Just as fascist Mussolini has been swept away, so surely will fascism in South Africa be swept aside clean from the face of our country. The Verwoerd "government" has in this way tried to break Sobukwe, but in spite of all this, he remains as determined as ever, and with his legendary courage continue to play his role in the liberation struggle even from behind bars. "I will not be silenced ; only death and the grave can stop me from speaking for the cause of African freedom" he declared once in prison, and for those words are suffering still greater privations on Robben Island.

Lovell in his "Present Crises" once so aptly put the alternatives facing any conscious human being or nation. "In the life of every man and nation comes the moment to decide, between good and evil, truth and falsehood". Sobukwe with no compunctions, with no second thoughts and with great clarity and piquantcy chose the path of Good and Truth when he declared, confronted with an alternative to cease political activity or continue to rot on Robben Island, "If you believe in freedom then you have to suffer for it". The alternatives been put, and the alternatives have been met. In choosing between Good and Evil, Truth and Falsehood Sobukwe has irrevocably placed himself at the services of the South African revolution. For the South African masses have also been confronted with the alternatives. And they like Sobukwe have chosen the path of freedom, a path which can only be traversed with difficulties, with suffering, with privation and by armed struggle. Gone are the days of passive resistance. Gone are the days of sit-down strikes, and stay-aways. Gone are peaceful marches and protests. The call at last has come. The South African people so long denied the opportunity of making history, have at last been called to make a great deal in a short time. That they will make it, that they will shape it and that they will direct it, is their undeniable right. For in this moment of decision, no sacrifice can be too great. Sobukwe is incarcerated. "That brain must be stopped". But too late. Too late. For the ideas sowed by him, is finding fertile soil in and outside South Africa. Embroyic once, it is now starting to blossom and flower.

Below a brief account or profile, if you would so like, depicts the man Sobukwe is. Culled from "Black Star" organ of the PAC, no apologies are made in reproducing it, for in a small way, it helps to place Sobukwe in his proper historical role in South Africa. His clarity of thought and understanding of the situation facing and obtaining in South Africa, if properly presented and understood, can go a long way in clearing and preparing the ground for the inevitable and final armed show down in South Africa, for without political theory and clarity there can be no political movement, which can only result in political confusion and obfuscation, in organisational chaos and inertia.

Lionel Morrison

"The law under which we are charged is a law made exclusively for the white man, and the officers administering the law are white men. We do not see how justice can be done in these circumstances".

Implicit in this statement is the total rejection of the white man's law and his justice in South Africa and the categorical reassertion that no court of law can administer an unjust law justly.

Before the court was Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, 38 year old leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, charged with subverting the security of the State. With brilliant oratory he exposed the system of so-called benevolent paternalism which is only a cover for slave labour and forced contract labour perpetuated by white South Africa. He refused to plead under their laws. He refused to be drawn into their game played according to their rules and did not even bother to rebut the charges levelled against him. He charged that they had made a mockery of law, had negated fundamental justice. He accepted the consequences of his action, merely using the court to propound his political philosophy. He affirmed that not only was it right, but it was the duty of a people to revolt against tyranny.

Among his enemies and the politically illiterate, the Sobukwe strategy of concentrating on welding the Africans into a cohesive and significant factor, galvanising them into a force whose dynanism would bring together the parts that go to make the sum total of our South African situation, namely, a non-racial society, was crudely canvassed and interpreted as racialism.

He has consistenly maintained that he offers no guarantees to minorities because in the society he envisages, there will be no minorities- "we think and plan in terms of individuals not groups. We fear and hate to transport into the free South Africa of the future, arrogances that go with group sectionalism".

He has refused to be placed in the position where he has to decide arbitrarily as to who is African and who is not. Instead he has placed the onus of deciding on the individual. Those whose only loyalty is to Africa and who regard themselves as Africans will be accepted as Africans. The colour of one's skin is completely irrelevant.

Sobukwe is loved by the African masses — already he has laid the foundations for a legend around him. He is an intellectual who has kept in touch with the people. He understands their yearnings and fears and has ably interpreted their aspirations. His deliberate decision to abandon a lucrative university job as a lecturer, a position which gave him middle class respectability and security, indentified him completely with the struggles of his people. His socialist convictions are the product of deep and searching enquiry into the tragic situation of a society that has allowed exploitation, oppression and the degradation of the human person. He is hated by the white ruling class and racists who see in him a threat to their security and the destruction of their cherished myth of white supremacy. He is feared by the democrat-liberal-progressive whites who have for so long lived in two worlds. He has shown how false their position is. They accept and enjoy the benefits which are the direct result of the system which, with one hand, they claim they are fighting to destroy. They have been more in the nature of O'Neil's Hugo Kalmer, the anarchist, who insists: "I love only the proletariat! I will lead them! I will be like a Gott to them! They will be my slaves!" In the Sobukwe thesis, they have to make their position clear. This challenge to total commitment or nothing, constitutes the present-day dilemma of the white democrat who must show that he is prepared to suffer the consequences of his action. Sobukwe showed how ambivalent the position of the white opposition to Verwoerd is.

He challenged them to recognise that the only way to fight the racists in South Africa effectively is to denounce and renounce the whole structure of white South Africa. What purpose was there in pleading before laws which in themselves were guilty. Sobukwe saw no point in knocking his head against a legal system which was designed to find him guilty. Countless African politicians in the past had wasted years by trying to find loopholes in a legal system which was designed to foster racialism; they wasted thousands of pounds — money raised in pennies and sixpences from people already below the breadline — in this futile attempt to beat South African "justice" at its own game. They demoralised the whole struggle for freedom by directing it into the maze of irrelevant and untenable legalities and thereby, for decades continued to blunt the African's revolutionary zeal.

70 Africans brutally killed by Verwoerds' gestapo during the Sharpeville protests called by Sobukwe.

With his lucidity, his gift for clinical analysis, Sobukwe saw as a prerequisite, the need for the African liberatory movement to wrench the initiative from the ruling class. Up to then, the African politicians were caught in the vicious circle of just reacting to whatever the government did — in other words, the government chose for us the ground on which we had to fight. The government exploited the South African tendency towards grouping and sectionalism. It would pounce on one section by introducing, say, the Group Areas Act and a howl of rage would rise in the ranks of the liberatory movement.

This would occasion a shift of ground, a concentration of forces to fight this "fascist law". Before we even got geared to fight, the government would pounce gain, Native Settlement of Disputes Act, Suppression of Communism Act, and there would be absolute chaos in our ranks — some unco-ordinated activity unrelated to the demands on our time.

Sobukwe saw that those responsible had fallen into the fatal error of importing and adopting strategems and programmes without first determining whether — no matter how successful these had been elsewhere — they applied to our situation. There had been this failure to diagnose the temper and psychology of our enemy.

The Afrikaner — the dominant and — politically — the most significant factor in the South African white camp — fought to establish his position in South Africa. The long drawn-out battles with Dingane, Moshoeshoe and a host of other African patriots, culminating in the Anglo-Boer War, had made him understand that only with his rifle and an unflinching determination to make the supreme sacrafice and die for his cause, could he succeed. To him passive resistance, non-violent agitation, constitutional methods, stay-at-home protest and demonstrations — unless backed by force — meant nothing. In fact his government welcomed such manifestations as they afforded a safety valve — a release of tension from anger and frustration which would become dangerous if channelled to revolutionary ends.

The recent years had witnessed the intensification of political persecutions in South Africa on a scale never before attempted. The mass arrests, the bannings, the banishment orders and the dawn raids on homes, had so harassed the people and the treason trial had dragged on so long that morale was low and the need to inject new life into the body-politic was imperative.

Sobukwe saw the need for the African to regain his lost confidence in himself. By his forceful personality, his unmatched courage, he gave a sense of direction and purpose to the African struggle.

It is an historical fact that we have many unmarked graves of political heroes, martyrs in the struggle for African liberation. Thousands have languished in jails. Thousands have been massacred. Up until Sharpeville, however, the leadership had always managed to escape, chiefly by their ability to retain the best counsel available to fight their case. It was a chronic complaint of the masses that it was unethical of the leadership to urge them to acts of defiance with dire consequences, when they, the leaders, always managed to keep themselves in the clear.

Because Sobukwe has never asked the African people to do what he himself would not undertake, he saw here the need for a new synthesis and in the only way he knew how, he sought to give all of himself in a quest to provide supreme political guidance to his people. He chose to be in the vanguard of whatever action was contemplated.

Langa and Sharpeville constitute a land-mark, a turning point in our struggle. The Positive Action Campaign against the pass laws was launched by the P.A.C. in March, 1960. Its aim was to make the whole machinery of operating the pass laws unworkable. It brought home to the government the fact that for the first time the Africans had taken the initiative from them. The government reacted with characteristic brutality.

Seventy-two Africans at Langa and Sharpeville were mowed down by the police in a massacre that revolted international opinion and elicited shocked reaction from the United Nations in the form of a Security resolution. The campaign was planned under the very noses of the secret police. Without fanfare or flag waving, Sobukwe perfected the blueprint of the campaign which, whilst it originated and was conceived in Pan Africanist circles, had as its ultimate goal, the total involvement of all the African people and all those who saw in the emergence of the African as an indispensable force, the creation of a new non-racial society in South Africa. For the first time ever, South Africa was shaken out of its complacency, men began to revise their programmes, alter their methods and new alignments emerged. It is still too early to assess and evaluate the full extent of these developments.

Whatever the final verdict will be, it is certain that since that day in March, when Sobukwe made his fateful call to the African people, a new political consciousness has been generated among them. There is a new awareness, a sense of latent power never before utilised or directed to the things that count.

What Sobukwe has gone through during the three years of his imprisonment following the events at Sharpeville and Langa is still matter of heated controversy.

There have been allegations of police brutality against Sobukwe on a scale never before seen in South African prisons. The South African government has denied these charges, but in an unprecedented move, the authorities threw open the prison doors and allowed a newspaper photographer to take carefully angled photographs showing a smiling Sobukwe. We remember that, not so long ago, in Algeria, men were tortured, atrocities were committed against them, which, at that time, the authorities denied but are now forced to admit in the face of irrefutable evidence. There are in South Africa today, ex-political prisoners who speak of one day of terror — subsequently known among them as the day of the Battle of Pick-handles — when Sobukwe was stripped and beaten near senseless with pick-handles by warders. There are eye-witnesses to the story that even when he was in solitary confinement Sobukwe was brought out each afternoon, made to strip and ordered to do the infamous tauza dance. This dance involves kicking one's leg in the air whilst bending at the same time to expose ones under parts. The ostensible reason for this sordid exhibition is to enable warders to see that no cigarettes are hidden in the prisoner's person. In reality it is part of a process of inflicting humiliations and indignities on political prisoners in an attempt to demoralise and degrade them.

The weight of evidence by colleagues who shared two years of imprisonment with him, shows conclusively that Sobukwe has lived under appalling conditions during the three years of his imprisonment. The treatment he underwent was aimed at destroying him mentally and physically. His jailers subjected him to every humiliation which would destroy his self-respect. He has refused to be destroyed. Sobukwe went to jail as a leader of the Pan Africanist Congress. He comes out an undisputed national leader.

Perhaps it is not too late for those faceless men who kept him prisoner to remember that for whatever they have done to Sobukwe and for whatever they might do to him, they are now accountable to a nation. They face the wrath of a people to whom Sobukwe personifies the ultimate victory of the African people in their struggle for freedom.

"Although ..... a man can never forget having been afraid — having — one summer's day — been whipped," we know that Sobukwe, the man, will not be conditioned in his attitudes and his judgement by what they have done to him.

A great challenge awaits him — a great responsibility. For our part we are certain that he is, as only he can be, equal to the challenge and the task before him.

PRESS FREEDOM IN INDONESIA

by **KHOUW GIOK PO**

Director — Indonesian Press Institute

A discussion about the freedom of the Press, even that of a specific society, is always a ticklish occupation. Though the problem is carefully considered and examined from various points of view, it always tends to result in a divergency of opinion. Press freedom is an old problem. It is as old as the Press itself or even much older. It may be considered as an aspect of the freedom of speech. In its character the problem is philosophic and theoretic, but it has also a practical value. A clear and exact philosofic concept of the freedom of the Press in a certain society forms the foundation of the actual function and control of the Press.

The prototype of the modern Press as known throughout the world at present was born in West Europe. It may be true that in other countries, e.g. in China, people already printed newspapers long before the birth of the Press in West Europe, but those institutions were never supported by mechanical equipments as in West Europe. They were never spread outside the boundaries of their own society.

The conditions after the Industrial Revolution in England were more favourable to spread the idea of the printing press to other regions of the world, but simultaneously the technique of Journalism and ..... the West European concept or doctrine of its freedom was introduced in those regions, especially to the practisioners of the Press. This West-European concept of press freedom became very popular, No wonder! It gives the Journalist the widest scope of freedom.

The Anglo-American concept came to be a liberty of a predominantly negative character. Primarily it emphasizes freedom *from* government intervention. But this theory does not regard freedom of the Press as absolute. The theory sanctions certain *minimal* restraints.

An almost classical example of this most liberal scope of freedom of the Press is the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the Press; or the right of the people to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances".

The constitutions of the different states declare that every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiment, on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain, or abridge, the liberty of speech or of the Press.

While the First Amendment merely imposes a limitation upon action by *Congress*, the constitutions of virtually all the states contain, in addition, the concept of individual responsibility for abuse. Thus, the First Amendment as such *did nothing* to protect freedom of speech and of the Press *against state action*.

The history of freedom of speech and of the Press in West Europe and the USA is evidence of efforts to eliminate the restraints placed by government upon the expression of opinion.

The changing restraints thus fashion a changing concept, but all these variations however remain within the scope of the Libertarian concept of life, coined Liberalism.

The history of the struggle for free speech in West-Europe and the USA centers around the expression of ideas antagonistic to the existing religious, political or economic order. That is the reason that the traditional doctrine of freedom of the press now inherent with the modern Press and Journalism, introduced in different regions of the world, empasizes on freedom from government intervention.

Is it fair and justified to use this Libertarian doctrine as a criterion to evaluate the freedom of the Press of a society with a different philosophic concept of life and with a different social, politic and economic order? There are symptoms that certain groups of Indonesian Journalists actually do this. Very understandable of course.

As already mentioned the libertarian concept of freedom of the Press actually gives the journalists the widest scope of freedom to express his opinion, believes and sentiment. But the historical development of the Press in Indonesia logically gives reasons to expect a different attitude.

A fact, little known even in Indonesian Journalistic circles, is that the prototype of the modern Press in Indonesia was a handwritten "newsletter" published by the Dutch colonial Government in the year 1615.

The first publication of the same kind of handwritten newsletter in Holland, — commonly considered as the first newspaper in West Europe — was dated 1619. So the Indonesian Press was born 4 years earlier than the West-European. Both were published by trading companies. The difference was that the trading-companies in Holand were private enterprises, while that in Indonesia had the status of government, a governmental trading-company with the powers of a real government. Another important difference was also that the trading companies in Holland who published those newsletters were Dutch institutions in a Dutch society, while the Dutch colonial governmental trading-company in Indonesia published newsletters for the benefit of the Dutch colonial community in an Indonesian autochthone society.

The general tone of the contents of those Dutch colonial newspapers all through the three and a half centuries of their regime was naturally that of defending the interest of the Dutch community in "Dutch East Indies" as they called Indonesia. Even the "Ethical Movement" with their 'mission sacré' to elevate the Indonesian people from their "backwardness" still had the attitude of a wise white older brother to his brown backward brother.

During the latter half of the 19th century and the first part of the twentieth the Press in Indonesia took step in the development of the Press in Europe. Dutch young Journalists from Holland came to work in Indonesia. Before their arrival the newspapers in Indonesia were government owned or sponsored. Beginning with 1852 the first independent newspapers were published

Centre : Women volunteers-to crush "Malaysia".
Bottom : The sacked British Embassy, with slogans "Asian matters to be solved by Asians".

by these Dutch journalists. Together with their profession they brought with them their ideals and doctrine of freedom of the Press. The conditions they found in Indonesia were in contradiction with their ideals. There was a preventive censorship on the Press. There were only licensed newspapers.

Their struggle against this licensing from the government resulted in the withdrawal of the regulations effecting the preventive censorship and licensing on the Press in 1906.

But the new regulations were only slightly better, not as liberal as in Holland. There were restrictions for the sake of security, the public order and ..... the interests of the Dutch colonial Community in Indonesia. The freedom of the Press of that period had a dualistic character. There were regulations giving the Dutch colonial Press in Indonesia an optimal freedom for the Dutch colonial Newspapers, but severe restrictions on the new emerging autochthone Indonesian Press and Journalists. Remarkably, the larger freedom given to the Dutch colonial Press in Indonesia was not used to fight against the political, economical and religious order set by the government, but on the contrary voluntarily it was used to defend and maintain this order. Their efforts were to maintain the economic order of the "exploitation de l'homme par l'homme" set by their government in Indonesia. Legally the Press was given an optimum freedom, but practically the Dutch colonial Press in Indonesia used its freedom to restrict itself to become subservient to Dutch capitalistic power in Indonesia.

The autochthone Indonesian Press was born in the latter part of the 19th century, while in the first part of the 19th century this autochthone Indonesian Press developed into the National Indonesian Press as it is now. The conditions under which the autochthone Indonesian Press was born made it an opposition Press against the Dutch colonial Government and against the Dutch Colonial Press in Indonesia. Economically and technically the autchthone Indonesian Press was inferior to the Dutch colonial Press, but politically and idealistically the superior. Politically the autochthone Indonesian Press was fighting for a right cause. Their struggle was urgently for freedom *from* intervention by the government — the Dutch imperialistic Government. They were fighting for political independency and for an own national Government.

During the Dutch Imperialistic regime, the National Indonesian Press was given a minimum freedom and maximum restriction.

At the end of 1949 Indonesia regained its political independency. The National and the National Indonesian Press got their own national Government, for which they have struggled from the beginning of the twentieth century.

What was then the ideal freedom of the Press as seen by the Indonesian Press itself? Remarkably the Indonesian Press is still struggling for a freedom from restraints by the government — their own National Government for which they have been fighting since the beginning of the 20th century.

Since the beginning of the Pacific War in 1942 our country was in a state of war and siege. After the War it was changed in a state of emergency.

It is naturally unjustified to evaluate the freedom of the Press of a certain country in abnormal conditions. The situation made it necessary to take measures for National security.

Although in an abnormal condition, a certain general picture of the theoretic concept of press freedom in Indonesia can be seen.

Foreigners visiting Indonesia deny that there is freedom of the Press in Indonesia. But by what criteria did they measure it? If measured by the Liberation concept it may be true that our Press freedom is not up to their standards. But do those foreigners understand the Indonesia langauge well? Have they read the debates and polemics on certain issues between certain newspapers? In the year 1957 and 1958, again in 1964 these debates and polemics on certain internal issues climaxed to the verge of endangering the public order.

In his Independence Day Message on August 17th 1964 H.E. President Sukarno considered it recessary to mention a few words on it:

"The political atmosphere in our country has lately been clouded by various discussions, polemics and debates. Is this a good or a bad symptom?

It is bad if it weakens national unity. But it is good if it strengthens national unity .....

"All I hope is that the parties which are having arguments, polemics and debates, are doing so for sake of unity, and not for the sake of dissension, for the sake of putting the Political Manifesto into practice, and not of tripping it up."

This passage of H.E. President Sukarno's Message may give a general picture of the freedom of speech and of the Press in Indonesia.

It certainly is not a Libertarian concept. It does not consider the Press as an open market for the unfettered clash of ideas and information, which ultimately results in the emergence of truth.

No, the Indonesian concept of freedom is the "Gotong-Rojong" freedom, the collective freedom or if so desired the "utilitarian" concept of freedom. In this concept only those freedoms are considered right when they are useful for the greatesst number.

Art. 28 the Indonesian Constitution provides that the freedom to unite, to assemble, to express one's thought orally and writtenly etc. shall be regulated by Law.

Art. 29 guarantees the freedom to worship according in one's own way and belief.

Art. 31 guarantees the right of each citizen to receive education.

Art. 34 guarantees that the poor and orphans will receive provisions from the State.

Several attempts have been made to draft the Press Law ordered by the Constitution, but up to this day none of them could satisfy the journalists and Parliament. There is still no Press Law as yet. But this does not mean that there are no regulations on the Press.

There are, but spread in various other Laws and regulations. Too many to collect them for this discussion.

Fundamentally the Indonesian concept of freedom of the Press does not differ from that of the United Nations, as stipulated in Article 1 and 2 of the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information according to the text of 1951:

Article 1 — Subject to the provisions of this Convention,

(a) Each Contracting State shall secure to its own nationals, and to such of the nationals of every other Contracting State as are lawfully within its territory, freedom to seek, receive and impart without governmental interference and regardless of frontiers of information and opinions orally in writing or in print, in the form of art or by duly licensed visual of auditory devices;

(b) No Contracting State shall regulate or control the use or availability of any of the means of communications referred to in the proceeding paragraph in any manner discriminating against any of its own nationals or of the nationals of any other Contracting State as are lawfully within its territory on political ground or on the basis of their race, sex, language or religion.

Article 1 carries with it duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to limitations, but only to such as are clearly defined by law; applied in accordance with the law and necessary with regard to:

(a) The protection of national security;
(b) Expressions which incite persons to alter by violence the system of government or which promote disorder;
(c) Expressions which incite persons to commit criminal acts;
(d) Expressions which are obscene or which are dangerous for youth and intended for them;
(e) Expressions which are injurious to the fair conduct of legal proceedings;
(f) Expressions which infringe literary or artistic rights;
(g) Expressions about other persons, natural or legal, which defame their reputations;
(h) Legal obligations resulting from professional, contractual or other legal relationships including disclosure of information received on confidence in a professional or official capacity; or
(i) The prevention of fraud.

Though the words may differ and the regulations not collected in one Law the same freedom and obligations of the Press could be found in Indonesia.

It is true that at present any newspaper or magazine using newsprint for its publicatiom need to sign an agreement for a licence. A careful examination of the questionnaire for acquiring the licence will show that it is not a licence for the publication but to get a quota of newsprint, for the import of this newsprint the Government pays a great proportion of the foreign currency rate.

There is indeed an agreement connected to the application for the newsprint licence, an agreement to support and to defend the Pantja Sila as the State's ideology and the Political Manifesto.

This agreement cannot be seen as a grave infringement of the freedom. It is one of the limitations acknowledged by the United Nations in its Draft Convention. The licence for newsprint is technically a support by the government. So after 3 centuries the Press in Indonesia still has the character of a government sponsored Press. Born in 1615 as child of the Dutch colonial Government, the Press in Indonesia is still a child of the Indonesian National Government in 1964. Seen from the articles of our Constittution quoted above, our socialist National Government makes it her duty to support the economically weak National Press in the same manner as with the economically weak citizen and orphans.

Article 1. of the Code of Ethics of the Indonesian Journalists' Association stipulates: Indonesian Journalists do their work while maintaining the freedom of expressing their opinion, but the sense of responsibility, which cannot be separated the one from the other.

Also the practisioners accept as their code of ethics the utilitarian concept of freedom, but in the heat of their debate they sometimes forget their sence of responsibility.

In conclusion it has to be stated that the general conception of the Freedom of the Press in Indonesia is that of a "Gotong-Rojong" Freedom or Utilitarian Freedom, a freedom useful for the greatest number, with the Pantja-Sila as its five pilars:

1. Belief in God as the base of what is right and useful. In his speech before the United Nations titled "To build the World anew" H.E. President Sukarno quoted from the Holy Book of Islam:

"In truth, those who, are most noble before Allah are those in awe of Allah and do good works towards Allah.

2. Nationalism — H.E. the President stated in his Address "To build the World anew: Nationalism is the great engine which drives and controls all our international activity; it is the great spring of liberty and the majestic inspiration for freedom.

3. Internationalism — the factor of the greatest number in defining the usefullness of the freedom.

4. Democracy — the factor defining an equal freedom for all the various social groups.

5. Social Justice, — as the limitations of freedom.

The 1964 Peking Symposium which commenced on the 21st. August in the great spirit of friendship, enthusiasm and expectations and in the most colourful and splendiferous atmosphere with the full and active participation of well-over 370 scientists from 44 countries and robed in their brilliant and beautiful National customes, indeed, reflected the very high and rich cultural traditions of these delegates with their peoples of different nationalities, races, creed and speaking different languages from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. The great meeting came to a close on the 31st. August in huge success with the unanimous adoption of a communique of historical importance and significance in our era of the national Liberation movement struggle waged by the heroic peoples of the world for the achievement of complete and unconditional National independence at any or all costs and for genuine world peace.

The symposium received 299 papers on natural and social sciences which were read and thoroughly discussed at the eight main committees on Engineering, Agricultural science, Medical science, Political science and Law, Economics, Education, Philology, and Literature. This important debate on science and technology and its utilization for the progress and development of the countries of scientists was carried out in an atmosphere of seriousness, but in the most friendly manner and on the same equal bases. Every body gained from the exchanges of views and opinions, either in the form of suggestions or advises based on concrete facts or experiences as result of past experiments, particularly on questions of common interest, such as the winning and safeguarding National Independence, the developing of National economy and culture, the developing of science, and the promotion of scientific and technical co-operation among various countries in the four continents. It became abundantly clear at these discussions that the national economy, culture and science cannot develop without the achievement of complete National Independence under which favourable conditions could be created and science made to flourish as seen in the People's Republic of China which has accomplished a lot in Natural Science since her liberation in 1949, particularly in medical science, very recently. As such scientists and scientific workers were to consider themselves as part of their societies and peoples and join forces with them in the bitter struggle to become masters of their own destinies and plan their future independently so that science and technology, the bulwork behind all progress and development in our times can be fully utilized for the benefit of the masses of the peoples who have been denied the basic human right to education by Colonialism and Imperialism, and which exploited, degraded and discriminated against them by subjecting them to second-class citizenship in their own countries. That scientists should not have illusions any longer that the welfare and progress of peoples as independent Nations in our world is separable from their

PEKING SYMPOSIUM

—an evaluation

SAHR FILLIE-FABOE

(Sierre Leone)

professions and therefore continue to remain neutrals and apathetic in the militant struggle waged by their heroic peoples to achieve National Independence as a prerequisite to developing science and technology for agricultural and industrial promotion in order to ensure forever the basic needs of their exploited peoples in life — food, shelter, clothing, health facilities ; and to improve transportation and communications. Gone, therefore, are the days when these intellectuals confined themselves only to the laboratories, lecture rooms and research institutes while their peoples and countries underwent the most cruel and merciless exploitation at the hands of the Colonialists, Imperialists and Neo-Colonialists. The scientist, however, wherever he may be, can never be given the full opportunity to do serious research as long as his society remain dependent on foreign-rule, and that any useful results of his very research will be used for the benefit of the foreigners instead of his own peoples.

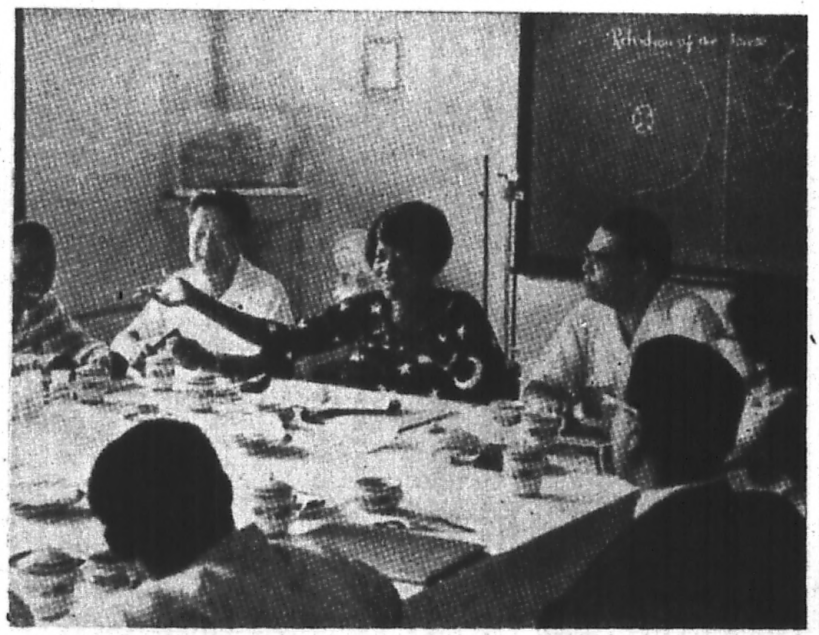
The task, therefore, before the scientists and scientific workers is one that must be accepted with seriousness in these four continents, particularly when scientists and scientific workers are being imprisoned and murdered in South Vietnam, and science used to destroy human lives vegetations and animals as done by the U.S. Neo-Colonialists.

History has at many times witnessed these types of inhuman barbarity but just as in the cases of Hitler and Mussolini, history always has its solutions to the problems. Hence it is of the paramount importance as pointed out by one of the African-Leaders — President Nkrumah of Ghana, that the greatest challenge of our time and accepted by scientists of the developing countries is to co-operate and honestly work in all scientific fields in a manner to achieve for the peoples within one generation what other countries have done within one century ; and that with even better and most successful results. The symposium was, therefore, a great contribution to the re-education of these intellectuals in knowing their added responsibilities in their countries in the struggle with their peoples for freedom and world peace.

Of course, the symposium was equally a great rebuff to the enemies of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America who have once more been victorious and consolidated their bond of friendship and strengthened their solidarity in the great spirit of Bandung for more successes in the future. The meeting confirms the true aspirations of the African peoples who are engaged in the national liberation struggle in the Congo (Leopoldville) in the so-called Portuguese overseas Provinces of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Cape Verde Islands in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the other dependent colonies. That political independence is the first most important thing after which the struggle for independence could be waged successfully hence the great determination of African Heads of States to achieve a united Africa with their people and use this unity in achieving other things. The bitter experience of Latin America because of lack of unity has made that continent and peoples been so far effecively controlled and exploited by the U.S. imperialists and Neo-Colonialists. The first task before the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America should not be confused by other tempting ones propagated by their enemies in the most cunning ways.

Many prominent scientists of world renown from the four continents were in attendence at the symposium and contributed greatly in co-operation with the other scientists in making the symposium end in great success which also reflects the seriousness of the papers read and discussed.

The symposium has pointed out the fact that science and scientific knowledge cannot be monopolised and denied to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, any longer who are determined to see that the dignity of science in the service of the people for human progress and world peace is raised and quickened. Social scientists, particularly philosophers in contributing outstanding papers pointed out the philosophical problems involved in the achievement of new success in



Quenum, a botanist from Dahomey, speaks at a biology group.

Peking Symposium

Natural science and technology and the study of socio-economics. It should be hoped that science definitely stands to flourish in these continents as time expires as these united scientists are determined to exchange results of their researches and scientific thinking between them, particularly, by specialists in different branches of natural science or social science in order to make it possible for them to explore the most important comprehensive scientific questions from different fields and aspects expecially of immediate benefit to masses of the people engaged in struggle for National Independence and to consolidate their national independence. This will be based on the policy of self-reliance on their own efforts with those of their peoples and in the use of their own material resources; although, cooperation with other scientists on equal status in the world in any field of science is also welcomed. It was unanimously agreed to hold the next symposium in 1965 in Peking while symposia on individual fields of science dealing with multiple branches of science shall be held within the years and that the women should be trained in science and technology to ensure more women participation at future symposium from the four continents.

On the whole, the symposium will be of great benefit to the progress of science and in the encouragement of these scientists to do more hard work in researches in future. The Liason Body shall be entrusted with the task of keeping contacts between the various scientists in their respective countries with one other and be responsible for publication of a scientific periodical for the purpose of further exchanges of information and the maintaining of mutual contacts.

Some scientists, at the closing session of the symposium expressed their regret at the closing of 1964 symposium as a result of the lively and frank discussions which ensued after the reading of the papers with great interest and enthusiasm. But, of course, these discussions could be continued further in the proposed periodical to be published.

As the delegates said until we meet again in 1965 in their closing speeches, sincere thanks and deep appreciation of warm kindness for their unique hospitality, characteristic of the Chinese people, was expressed to the peoples and government of the People's Republic of China and to the scientists and scientific workers whose collective efforts and co-operation contributed greatly in making the historic 1964 Peking Symposium end in a great success after meeting for the first time in history of the peoples from Asia, Africa and Latin America and Oceania.

Long live the great spirit of the 1964 Peking Symposium which has become a new effective force in the hands of these peoples engaged in a bitter struggle to remain masters of their destinies and rule their countries as independent people.

Smash Imperialist's Intrigues in S. E. ASIA

(Continued from page 6)

"withdraw from or forget Southeast Asia", because "this not only means a great loss of the free world in Southeast Asia and South Asia", but also means "a great loss of confidence of the people in the will and capability of the 'free' world" Rusk added that if the United States and its lackeys continued to meet with attacks by the people's armed forces, its last resort would be an "Extension of war".

It is clear from Rusk's statement that US imperialism will not reconcile itself to its failure nor will it easily give up the adventurous plan of extending the war in Indo-China. To the United States, the loss of collapse of its aggressive front in South Vietnam would mean the total Indo-China and the rest of Southeast Asia and the complete bankruptcy of its plan of suppressing the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and of its global strategy for world hegemony. Therefore it is deploying troops to intensify the "special warfare" against the South Vietnamese people. At the same time, US warships are massing in the vicinity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for intimidation. US aircraft continue to intrude into its territorial air. US imperialism may embark on a new adventure at any time by creating another "Tonkin Gulf Incident". What warrants special attention is that US imperialism, in the name of supporting "Malaysia", is carrying out military provocations and war threats against Indonesia, and trying hard to link the battle-field in South Vietnam with that in North Kalimantan in an attempt to prevent the defeat of its policies of aggression and war throughout Southeast Asia.

It is necessary for the Asian and African Journalists to follow closely the US machinations in Indo-China and Southeast Asia, constantly expose the plans of the Johnson Administration for military adventure, mobilize the Asian and African peoples in giving active support to the patriotic anti-US struggle of people of South Vietnam and the rest of Indo-China, and smash the US imperialist policies of aggression and war in Southeast Asia in defence of peace in Asia and the world.

REPORT FROM ZIMBABWE

(Continued from page 7)

Also no African nationalist leader may enter any African reserve, mining centre or farm without permission from District Commissioners. To render the African organizations very ineffective, horrifying laws have been passed by this minority settler government. In many instances, the judges are left with no option of passing a sentence. The Smith regime has gone to the extend of making it a capital punishment for one to burn one's house. Not to mention many, some of the laws are the notorious law and Order (Maintainance) Act, The preservation of Constitutional Government Act, the Unlawful Organization Act.

These laws have been fortified by some unpopular institutions like the Gokwe, Gonakudzingwa and Hwahwa restriction centres. Private torture warehouses have been erected. Unless one has been a victim in any of these concentration camps one cannot know the viciousness of the places and how unpleasant and horrifying life really is.

Under such circumstances, how can Smith hope to successfully negotiate for independence with Britain that claims to champion for human rights and selfdetermination.

If Smith declares independence unilaterally, the advice that ZANU can offer him is limited. Since the ratio of the white settlers to Africans is 1.25, Smith should provide each settler with at least twenty-five armed soldiers because the entire African populace is revolting against his settler mininority regime. ZANU hoped that when Smith reached London, Sir Alec Douglas-Home should have advised the settler born Smith to visit a British Mental Hospital. If Home's attempts failed, the British Government was duty bound to throw Smith in a mad house. Smith's claim to independence is obscene. Smith is not normal, his government is not normal and the settler farmers are not normal and they are therefore not competent to run any normal government in the world according to civilized standards".

British imperialists illegally own property worth millions of pounds in Zimbabwe in the form of land, estates, mines and industries. An African take over will mean nationalisation which means poison to the British capitalists.

We have made our stand very clear. The problems of Southern Rhodesia can only be solved by a constitutional conference, attended by Sithole and other Nationalist leaders, to determine majority rule. We have also left no stone unturned as to what action we shall take in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence.

In the Spirit of Afro-Asian Journalists' Solidarity

REPORTAGE

Sugiyama

A friendship delegation of the Afro-Asian Journalists Association organised and sent by the AAJA Secretariat visited nine African countries and one Asian country within a period of seven weeks and returned to Djakarta on 2nd. Nov., after successfully fulfilling its task.

The exchange of visits between journalists of Afro-Asian countries was one of the main activities of AAJA envisaged by the second Secretariat Meeting of the AAJA at Gadok (30 Nov. — 1 Dec. 1963). The Secretariat thought it necessary to put into practice the idea of the exchange of visits without delay in view of the approaching second AA Journalist Conference (to be held in April 1965, in Algiers) as well as strengthening mutual contacts between AA journalists and activating still more the daily work of Secretariat through these strengthened contacts.

Inspite of some difficulties in organizing the delegation, i.e. limitation of the time to prepare, difficulties in some countries expected to send delegates which hindered some African and Asian colleagues from taking part to the delegation, the AAJA Secretariat succeeded in forming a friendship delegation with the following members :

Joesoef : Head of the delegation, Deputy Sec.-Gen. AAJA

I. Sugiyama : Representative from Japan.

Yang Yi : Representative from China

Mrs. Francisca Nasution : Indonesia, Interpreter

The main task of the delegation was :

1. to establish broad contacts with African journalists and freedom fighters,
2. to explain stand and policy of AAJA, its work and achievements,
3. to do preparatory work for the next Secretary Meeting and the second AA Journalists Conference,
4. to secure stringers and reporters for the AAJA, News Bulletin.

The delegation left Djakarta on 14th. Sept., and visited the following countries :

UAR, Algeria, Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Ghana, the Congo (Braza), Ethiopia, Tanzania and Cambodia. The delegation could also meet with Kenyan friends during the stop-over at the Nairobi airport.

In every country it visited, the AAJA delegation was received warmly by African friends and journalists. In Bamako (Mali) the delegation was received by President Modibo Keita (25th. Sept.) and in Brazzaville (the Congo) by Premier Pascal Lissouba (9th. Oct.) and Chairman of National Assembly. Mr. Leon Angor (8th. Oct.). The delegation was greatly encouraged in its activities for the fighting solidarity of the Afro-Asian Journalists and was able to draw valuable lessons after meeting with these leaders of African revolution. In his interview, President Modibo Keita told the delegation :

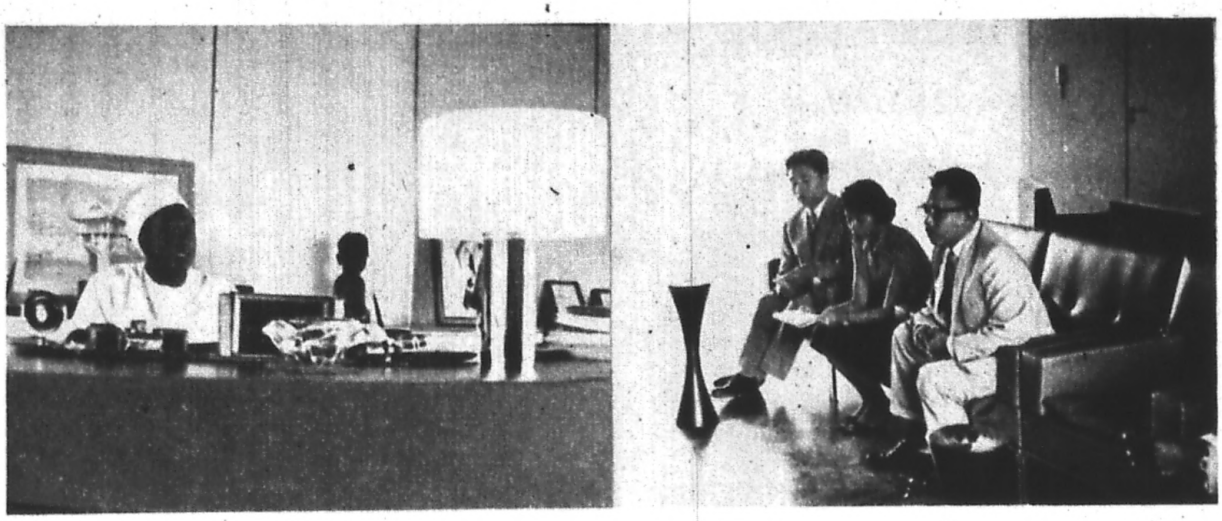
"It is the task of journalists to give information about the current events in the world. The AAJA have made itself well known by giving a good reflection of the current events and has been an inspring force for the AA solidarity. The people and the journalists of Mali will always be on the side of the AAJA in promoting AA solidarity and in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. I hope and wish the association full success with the coming second AAJC".

Premier Pascal Lissouba told the delegation as follows :

"You may have discovered that people in Brazzaville are in a very lively and dynamic period of their struggle. The adversaries possess bombs and aeroplanes whereas our people have only hands. Therefore friends like the AAJA delegation could help us as journalists by giving widely informations about their struggle, about the real situation and problems they are facing.

"The struggle of our people at the moment is at a cross road, where it is a matter of gaining the victory and real freedom or going on forever subjected to imperialist domination, since imperialism at this moment is also very strong not only militarily but also economically and therefore can easily spend money to give the mass of people the idea that they are giving 'help'. The US have spent millions of dollars on the Congo (Leo), but would even spend much more to keep it, as the US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, Mr. Mennen Williams has told the Minister of Finance of Brazzaville when the latter met him in Washington".

In some countries organizations of African journalists are rather young, but everywhere African journalists are eagerly striving for the cause of their national independence, and for the establishment and consolidation of their national press. They are against the monopoly of information by Western News Agencies. In Tanzania they are struggling against still strong British influence in journalism, and are preparing for a great leap in strengthening their anti-imperialist paper. Ghanaian, Ethiopian and Tanzanian efforts to establish their own big, up to-date printing houses to get rid of imperialist domination were quite impressive.



President Modibo Keita having a chat with the delegation whilst they visited in Mali. (left to right: Yang Yi, F. Nasution and Joesoef).

African journalists and political leaders are solidly behind these peoples who are struggling and have risen up in arms against US, British, and Portuguese imperialism, colonialism and their puppets in the Congo (Leo), South Africa, South Rhodesia, Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique etc. In Dar-es-Salaam, where the delegation heard the news of "Chinese bomb" and in Cairo, the next city the delegation stopped on its way home, there were expressions of genuine enthusiasm over the success of the first atomic explosion which was achieved by Chinese people, a comrade in AA front against imperialists, and which according to African journalists and freedom fighters there, gave them immeasurable encouragement in their struggles for national independence and world peace.

Under such circumstances, the delegation and African journalists could find plenty of common words against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Moreover even during the delegation's African tour and after, African peoples were advancing in big strides against their enemy which was revealing itself more and more clearly before them. African journalists were whole-heartedly supporting the struggle of Non-Alligned Heads of States against Thsombe, that notorious puppet of the US imperialism in the Congo. African journalists and freedom fighters were hailing the independence of Zambia as step forward in the cause of African independence. Active preparations are going on among freedom fighters to step up their armed struggle in closer connection with native peoples from new advanced bases in Zambia. And just after the departure of the delegation from Africa, Tanzanian people rose up against US and British subversive plots against Tanzanian independence. So it has become the delegatiin's firm conviction that the Djakarta Declaration is practiced everwhere in Africa, and that the AAJA can work hand in hand with energetic and sincere African journalists who are striving for the achievement of true independence and fighting against their common enemy, world imperialism headed by US.

The delegation had friendly and serious discussions with the leading members of Journalist organizations of visited African countries about the second AA Journalist Conference. The delegation was much encouraged by positive attitude shown by African journalists in general and Algerian Journalists in particular with regard to the preparation and concerning the second AAJC.

The delegation also succeeded in establishing broad and practical contacts with leaders of Mali and Guinean journalists associations as well as of Press Syndicates of UAR and Senegal. It also had warm exchanges of friendship and promise of co-operation with journalists in Ghana, the Congo (Braza), Ethiopia and Tanzania. Especially the warm (even hot) expression of welcome shown by Mr. Welbeck (executive secretary of CPP and interim Chairman of Ghananian Journalist Union) and Ghananian friends.

The hard efforts of friends in Brazzaville, Addis Ababa, Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi in their busiest or difficult conditions to help the delegation achieve the utmost success were unforgettable to the delegation.

In almost all cities visited, the delegation had chances to visit offices of newspapers, news agencies, printing houses, radio and TV studios. The delegation also had lively talks with ordinary journalists, press and TV interviews, receptions and visits to Ministers of Information. African journalists are fully supporting the cause and activities of AAJA. They also have shown keen interest to the plan of Journalist Course of AAJA.

It must be added that the success of the friendship delegation of AAJA to African countries owes much to various helps extended by friends in Afro-Asian People's Sodlidarity Organization in Cairo, friendly correspondents in many cities, Indonesian and other friendly Embassies in Africa.

The visit to Pnompenh and meeting with leading Cambodian journalists was both unexpected and very fruitful. It was a sudden plane engine trouble which forced the delegation to stay one night at Pnompenh and allowed the delegation to visit Cambodian journalist association and confirm their fighting solidarities.

(Continued on page 28)

Japanese People's Struggle Against U.S. Nuclear Subs.

= KOBAYASHI =

The US government put its nuclear submarine "Sea Dragon" into Sasebo port, one of the main bases of the US 7th. Fleet, on 12 Nov., with the consent of the Sato government and ignoring the strong opposition raised by widest strata of the Japanese people.

The US imperialists are thinking of a follow up by putting the second nuclear submarine into Yokosuka, biggest naval base occupied by the US 7th. Fleet and situated at the entrance of Tokyo bay. Looking for the earliest opportunity to put their scheme into practice, they are now closely watching the trend of the popular opposition movements.

The Communist Party, the Socialist Party and many trade unions, organizations of workers, peasants, youths, women, scientists, cultural workers, religeous people — these demokratic forces composed of the versatile strata of Japanese people are determined to crush any attempt of entrance by the US nuclear submarine. They are organizing a mammoth protest meeting of more than 100,000 people at the Yokosuka port, protest marchs in the city and protest demonstrations to the headquarter of the US naval base, etc. According to their plan, in Tokyo also more than 100,000 demonstraters will be gathered before the US Embassy and Japanese government offices. Earnest appeals will be made to the Diet now on session to oppose the entrance of the US nuclear submarine. In 47 municipalities and prefectures including Okinawa, every site of the local government and other main cities will see a big demonstration of residents against the US nuclear submarine.

The demand for the entrance of US nuclear submarine into Japanese ports was first put before the Committee meeting of the US-Japanese Security Council on 9 th Jan., 1963 in Tokyo by the US ambassador, Leishower. The US Embassy and the Ikeda government produced the following arguments for its entrance :

1) The nuclear submarine is just a ship using an atomic engine instead of ordinary diesel engines, — nothing special. There will be no danger of radioactive contaminations either of sea or of air. Also no danger of radioactive disasters caused by some accidents expected.

2) Those submarines which are planned to enter Japanese ports are not subs with Polaris nuclear missiles and other nuclear weapons.

3) The entrance into Japanese ports is a legitimate right accorded to the American side by the US-Japanese Security Treaty, and to the Japanese side a duty.

But these arguments could not deceive the Japanese people.

US imperialism has been witnessing its policy of aggression and war increasingly isolated everywhere in the world. To "roll back" this desperate situation, US imperialism is madly trying to set up nuclear attack bases in Asian countries, its main direction of attack being China and other socialist countries as well as countries striving for national independence, in line with the so called "contain China" policy. After decisive blows have been dealt to the China containment policy. i.e. military hold in South Vietnam, Laos and other Indo-chinese areas were forced to the verge of complete disruption by determined counter-attacks of local peoples, it became more and more urgent for the US imperialists to rely on the nuclearlization of the Japanese armed forces and on Japan wholly turned into a nuclear attack base. The Ikeda government and the Sato government succeeding it has been and is actively cooperating to this nuclear attack policy of US imperialism.

The US government has put Okinawa, the Japanese territory, under its permanent occupation and made Okinawa a complete nuclear attack base with Mace B nuclear missiles as main weapons. The End of last year it deployed 22 companies of F 105 D H-bomb armed fighter-bombers to the US Air Force base in Itatsuke (Kyushu district) and later also to Yokota US Air Force base in Tokyo. The preparation for nuclear equipment of Japanese Self Defence Corps is also procceeding. Already such guided missiles with nuclear warheads as Nike and Hawk have becomes its new equipment.

Under these circumatances the Japanese people maintain that :

1) The entrance of US nuclear submarines into Japanese ports means Japan being turned into a base of Polaris submarines which are becoming the main arms of US imperialism. It means Japan becoming the advanced base of nuclear attack on People's China and South East Asian countries.

2) The Japanese people have suffered twice from A and H bombs. There is no guarantee whatever against some radioactive accidents of nuclear submarines.

Japanese Basic Law on Atomic Power and other related laws limit the use of atomic power to peaceful purposes and Japanese activities in the atomic field are envisaged to be pursued under three principles of Independence, Democracy, and Publicity. The servile attitude of the Japanese government, the out and out military nature and the secrecy that surrounds all circumstances, indicate that the entering of the US nuclear submarines is contradictory to all of these principles.

3) The Japanese people do not recognize the US-Japanese Security Treaty. All democratic forces are fighting for the abrogation of this treaty.

Guided by the above deliberations the Japanese people started the struggle against the entrance of US nuclear submarines into Japanese ports.

March 3rd 1963, when more than 50,000 people gathered at Yokosuka to manifest their opposition to the US nuclear submarines, was the start of the big campaign. Meeting and demonstrations against the "nuclear subs" in those US naval bases as Sasebo, Kure, Nagoya, Kobe, etc. followed. Then main cities followed suit. Signature campaigns for the complete ban of nuclear arms, and against the entrance of US nuclear submarines were carried out widely.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party, which on other issues always show differances of opinions, united their actions on this particular problem and on 1st. September jointly organized big united actions of more than 200,000 people in Yokosuka and Sasebo. Scientists and religious people played a big role in this national campaign. The Japan Science Council which is composed of representatives from all spheres of science unanimously adopted a strong attitude of opposition to the entrance of the submarines. The Japan Peace Council of Religious People which also contains Buddhists, Christians and many other religious believers showed a firm attitude of opposition and appealed to all Japanese people to unite in the opposition movement by such actions as peace marches, sit down strikes, hunger strikes, players, signature collections, etc.

The US and Japanese governments were forced to alter their original plan of realizing the entrance by the end of 1963. The issue had to be carried over to 1964.

The year 1964 is witnessing a decisive stage in the defeat of US imperialist policies in South Vietnam, Laos, and other Indo — chinese areas. The provocations in the Gulf of Tonkin were attempted in such circumstances and resulted in graver isolation of US imperialism.

The open nuclearlization of Japanese armed forces, turning Japan into an advanced nuclear base, and active participation of Japan to US nuclear strategy in Asia — All these measures were to be materialized through the entrance of US nuclear submarines ; this has become an urgent task for the US imperialists.

Japanese bourgeois journalism as a whole is antagonistic to the struggling Japanese people. It is acting as a tool of propaganda for the US imperialism and Japanese reactionary forces.

Japanese bourgeois journalism — newspapers, TVs, and radios of Japan is taking up the problem of US nuclear submarines only as a problem of the "safety" with regard to the radioactivity of nuclear subs, and made much of those insistances by the US government that "there had been no accidents throughout their entrances to ports in other parts of the world which amounted to more than 200 times. So the nuclear submarines can be said to be very safe. Neither are there radioactive contamination of sea water. The subs are carrying no such nuclear weapons as polaris missiles. Their entrance cannot constitute the bringing-in of nuclear weapons", etc. The American authority let Japanese reporters abroad the nuclear submarines in Hawaii in September, and again just before the entrace into Sasebo port, on board Sea Dragon and Sward Fish, two nuclear submarines. Papers TVs and radios carried their report to the effect that "there is no danger of radioactivity", etc. On the other side they systematically negrected to report the opposition campaigns of democratic forces.

Bourgeois papers press campaigned against Japanese people rising up in struggle, saying that "the entrance of US nuclear submarines into Japanese port is in accordance with international agreements. So the opposition to the entrance will cause complications damaging our international reputation". They also carried many reports which would cause obstacles to the achievement of the unity of action between communists and socialists. On 21st. Nov., NHK (Japan Broadcasting Association) made a demagogic broadcast about a postponed conference of the representatives of Communist and Socialist parties at Yokosuka that "the conference was disrupted as the communists insisted upon unity of action in many fields of peace movements not limiting alone to the sphere of struggles against the entrance of nuclear subs". While the true reason of the postponement was that some circumstances made it difficult for socialists to attend the planned conference.

These systematic efforts of Japanese bourgeois journalism were awarded by words of high estimation of US ambassador, Mr. Leishower when he addressed on 10th Nov. at a Meeting of Newspapers to the following effect: "In Japan the role played by newspapesr is very great. Foreigners even call Japan a country of Pressocracy".

Among democratic forces disunity has been growing with regard to the movement against Atomic and Hydrogen bombs, especially about problems on nuclear tests and on the estimation of the Partial Test-ban Treaty. The movement against the entrance of nuclear subs also split into two, main reason being an effort of the right wing social democrats in the Socialist Party to put all activities of other parties and organizations under its sole leadership.

Two separate activities were organized for one objective: to crush the US scheme of putting nuclear subs into Japanese ports.

US imperialists and the Japanese government were quick to seize the disunity among the democratic forces.

On 28th. September the Japanese government suddenly decided to approve the entrance of US nuclear submarines into Japanese ports. Upon receiving the notification of approval, the US government closely watched the trends of popular opposition movements and on 12th. November put one nuclear submarine, Sea Dragon into Sasebo port.

Japanese democratic forces, although severely hampered in their actions by disunities among the leadership, rose up in a determined struggle against US nuclear subs in conjunction with condemnations of the aggressive war in Indo-china and with demands that America should "hands off" from Asia. In Sasebo nearly 100,000 people in total repeated protest demonstrations for several days, although organized in two separate groups. Responding to Sasebo people, in Tokyo, Yokosuka, and other major cities all over Japan tens and hundreds of thousands people started protest actions. Signature collections were started. All protests were concentrated on the US embassy in Tokyo. All people demanded the unity of action, they cried: "Let democratic forces unite. Let us fight like at the time of our struggle against US-Japan Security Treaty!" (The struggle against US-Japan Security Treaty means the struggle fought by several millions of Japanese people in 1960 against the revision of the treaty. All democratic forces were united around Communist and Socialist Parties. Through their struggle Japanese people succeeded in throwing out the Kishi reactionary government and checking the planned Japanese visit of the then US president, General D. Eisenhower.)

The US nuclear submarine, Sea Dragon left Sasebo on 14th. Nov. like fleeing before the angry voice of Japanese people: "Dont come to Japan again!"

The belief that only through the unity of democratic forces, the united action of the whole democratic forces with the unity of Communist and Socialist parties as its core, can Japanese people prevent the nuclearlization of Japanese military forces and drive away US nuclear submarines — this belief has become firmer among Japanese people.

The entrance of the second nuclear sub into Yokosuka port is thought to be impending. Communist and Socialist parties have been trying hard to achieve unity of action and on 24th. Nov., succeeded in holding talks on that subject in Yokosuka to reach an agreement that: "when and if the sub enters the port we shall fight with one meeting, one demonstration!"

With struggles of unprecedented grand scale, the Japanese people are now going to fight against the entrance of US nuclear submarines and also for the abrogation of the US-Japanese Security Treaty which lies at the root of this submarine entrance affairs. Their struggle is digging the ground under the rule of US imperialists and Japanese reactionaries in Japan.

The Japanese people's struggle against the entrance of US nuclear submarines is a continuation and development of their struggle fought last summer for the success of the 10th World Conference against A and H Bombs. A summary made by the Japan Council for AAJA after their participation to this conference which now follows in full will help understand the Japanese people's struggle.

The 10th World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in Japan last summer was indeed an event of historic significance to the peace movement of the peoples the world over. At the same time, it was an immense contribution to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their emancipation and progress.

At a meeting held in Nagasaki City on the last day of the 11-day conference, Nguyen Khan Le of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam spoke on behalf of the presidential to an audience of more than 20,000, saying :

"The world conference has proved to be a conference of unity of the peoples of the world aiming at national liberation, peace, democracy and progress ; a conference for the struggle against U.S. imperialists and their lackeys ; and a conference of optimism about the victory of the peoples".

This declaration, which met with a great applause from the audience, unmistakably represented a unanimous appraisal of the conference by more than 100,000 Japanese delegates and 163 foreign delegates from 52 countries and eight international organization who attended the conference.

The world conference adopted two important international documents unanimously and issued them to the people of the world engaged in struggle. One of them, "Appeal for international common action for prevention of nuclear war, complete ban on nuclear weapons and strengthening of solidarity," pointed out :

The movement of the peoples the world over has advanced unceasingly despite numerous difficulties. It has been developing with a force that nothing can hold in check and dealing a mighty blow at the forces of aggression and war headed by U.S. imperialism".

The appeal urged the popular forces to continue their struggle with ever firmer determination and said, they (forces of war aggression) have been attempting to buttress their increasingly disadvantageous position and to fulfill their ambition for war and aggression.

"While paying lip services to peace and disarmament after conclusion of the 'partial nuclear test ban treaty', they have been shameless enough to reinforce their military power across the world ; push ahead with establishment of a multilateral nuclear force of the NATO and provision of nuclear weapons with West German militarists ; and make a desperate attempt at carrying out adventurist policies and maintaining colonial systems in Asia, Africa and Latin America".

"The new tension in the international situation requires that all the forces fighting for peace and independence renew their determination to prevent nuclear war and ban nuclear weapons completely".

Another document, "Support the peoples' struggles resolutely," started with these words : it is of vital importance to support the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America for independence and liberation, in order to thwart the danger of a nuclear war.

The document went on to express a hearty support and solidarity, in 15 separate items, to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, China and other parts of Asia ; to the peoples of Oman, Southern Yemen and other parts of Arabia ; to the peoples of the Congo, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Cabo Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome, Principe, Cameroon and other African nations ; to the peoples of Cuba, Venezuela, Panama, and other Latin American nations ; to the peoples of Western Europe opposing the NATO; to the peoples of Ocenia ; and to the Negro people of the United States. Then it appealed :

"In order to fulfil these demands, the peoples the world over have to fight unceasingly against the worst enemy of peace, U.S. imperialism ! Let us support the peoples' struggle resolutely ! Let us organize the broadest united front for the protection of world peace and against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys".

The world conference succeeded to the traditions of the previously held nine world conferences against atomic and Hydrogen bombs with the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gesuikyo) as their organizer and developed them properly ; besides, it successfully summed up the peoples' experiences in struggles, gained at the cost of their blood and sweat.

At the international meeting held from July 30 through August 2 at the outset of the world conference, delegates from Asian, African and Latin American countries and consciencious delegates from Europe took the rostrum one after another to make detailed reports on their struggle for freedom, to express their views on the general international situation and to speak about the development of the peoples' struggle.

All of their remarks were in complete accord with the spirit and the principles of the general report by the representative of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and the report by the chief Japanese delegate. Salient points of their reports can be summarized as follows :

(1) Bitter struggles are being waged by people against U.S. imperialists' policies of war and aggression in various places in Asia, Africa and Latin America at the present moment. The general situation is developing in favour of the people, but imperialists are trying to execute their policies in an ever more ferocious and fraudulent manner.

(2) Developments in the international situation after the conclusion of the "partial nuclear test ban treaty" indicate that the conclusion of the treaty failed to bring about relaxation of international tension. Contrary, tension is being intesified thereafter.

(3) It is of supreme importance to fight face to face against forces of war and aggression led by U.S. imperialism in order to prevent nuclear war and protect peace. To expect "reason" and "good will" from them or to depend on "talks" with them are completely erroneous.

(4) It is not nuclear weapons that decide the destiny of mankind but the masses of people that are to dispose of nuclear weapons.

(5) The United Nations has been acting the role of covering up the true features of U.S. imperialism and helping it in its ambitions ; consequently, it will be dangerous to harbour an illusion about it.

(6) A resolute attitude has to be taken toward policies of new colonialism of imperialists, which are attempting to creep into new emerging forces with "assistance" as a bait, paralyze the fighting spirit of people and bring confusion to the ranks of people and forces in collusion with them.

(7) The struggle for the prevention of a nuclear war and the protection of peace must unite with the struggles for national liberation and must advance with the formation of a broad anti-imperialist united front as its target.

(8) The tradition and the correct line of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs are supported fully. The representative of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, Deputy Secretary-General Joesoef, spoke at the conference and said, to an enthustic aplause of the audience :

"It would be a mere farce if actions in opposition to atomic and hydrogen bombs were limited to solicit sympathy for victims of nuclear bombs and to request nuclear powers not to use nuclear weapons.

We will not ask a favour of the neclear powers, never ; we will fight."

These viewpoints emphasized at the international meeting were accepted by the broad segments of Japanese peace activists to their full satisfaction, who indeed had overcome numerous difficulties to prepare for the world conference.

The achievements of the international meeting won approval of the mass rally held in Tokyo on the night of July 31 with 20.000 people attending ; the general meetings of the world conference held in Kyoto and Osaka from August 3 through August 5, with more than 35.000 persons from various parts of Japan taking part ; and the meetings, each attended by 20.000 people, in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the two sites of the nuclear holocaust.

It must be emphasized, however, that the conference achieved the success not without any difficulties or struggles ; indeed it underwent great difficulties and bitter struggles. Imperialists and their agents never look on the people's advance with folded arms, and with the advance of the people, there emerge segments of the people's ranks which will waver and even join hands with the enemy. The movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs cannot have been and exception.

Already, at the ninth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in summer last year, a part of Japanese right-wing social democrats stuck to a demand at the conference session that "the conclusion of partial nuclear test ban treaty be appraised highly" and attempted to split the fornt. They, however, met with an ignominous defeat before the firm attitude of the majority of the conference delegates, so that they, together with their fellow-conspirators, walked out of the conference.

For the past year since that time, these splitters received aid from U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces overtly or covertly, hampered the activity of the Japan Council Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, ans spared no efforts to sidetrack the Japanese people's tradional struggles.

They alleged that the enemy of peace champions was not imperialists but nuclear weapons themselves and that the peace movement should be separated from the national-liberation movement. They even contended that the people should wait for the results of the talks between some leaders of a few big powers and abide by their instruction rather than organize the popular struggle by themselves.

The 10th World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was successfully convened by destroying this scheme of the conspirators connected with power. They failed in their attempt to wreck the World conference, and had to hold a "peace rally" of their own in Hiroshima at the same times as the 10th world conference. The Japanese peace activists rightly described the rally as "a divisive rally".

An end had already been put to the struggle over the world conference for the past year, at the time when the conference was actually convened (although the struggle will be continued in different forms). At the world conference, therefore, the Japanese and foreign delegates had to fight actually not against the Japanese splitters but against splitters from abroad, who wormed themselves into the world conference in an attempt to subvert the conference.

A group of people led by a certain chief delegate from a big country had been slandering openly the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and the World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and had been encouraging and guiding the Japanese splitters. This time, it participated in the "divisive rally" and at the same time, tried to join in the world conference. The Japanese peace champions took a cautious attitude toward the aim of the group taking part in the world conference. The foreign delegates, who attended the conference with genuinely good faith, also assumed a similar attitude. "How is it that those who are attending the conference are at the same time taking part in the subversive activities against it ?"

This question was asked by many delegates at preparatory meetings held for three days prior to the convening of the world conference. "Are you here wishing for a success of the world conference ? If so, shouldn't you fight against suboteurs rather than join hands with them ?" they asked.

The foreign splitters failed to answer the questions. Instead, they stood up and said, "let's stop such a useless argument," or "are you trying to discriminate against us ?" Unreasonably enough, they openly slandered the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs by name, and hurled groundless abuses at the Chinese delegation.

One of the splitters shouted that they would attend rallies for peace no matter who organized them, when a Japanese delegate asked, "even a rally organized by the U.S. President ?"

Aside from remarks made at conference halls, splitting activities were staged in various other forms. For instance, they gathered together "foreign delegates" who would faithfully obey the baton of their master, and transported them to Tokyo. They went so far as to entice some of the foreign delegates to attend "divisive rallies" and to attempt to split the leadership of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

In handling the splitters, the well-trained Japanese leader of the peace movement and the foreign delegates assumed the principled and brave attitude and at the same time exercised perseverence to the utmost.

They even allowed the splitters to attend the international meetings of the world conference although they stuck to the attitude of taking part in the "divisive rallies" as well. But when the splitters braznely demanded posts in the presidential committee, the steering committee and the drafting committee, they were flatly rejected. The Japanese delegates, the sponsors of the world conference, notified them that the conference could not entrust the suboteurs with the work of steering the conference.

The saboteurs walked out of the conference on the second day, heaping abuses on it, when they judged rightly enough that the conference was filled with a principled and brave atomsphere where their maneuvers would fail, and that it would expose their true features if they should remain at the session. And they hurried away to their real friends, that is, to a "divisive rally" held in Hiroshima.

After their desertion, the international meeting succeeded in continuing fruitful discussions expected of the genuine champions of the world peace movement, with 163 foreign delegates and 180 Japanese delegates taking part.

Did the splitters give us any blow ? The answer was no ; the Japanese and the foreign delegates were unanimous in this point. They stated :

"Their machinations only served to strengthen our solidarity further. Through the struggle against them, we became wiser and nurtured our ability to distinguish true friends from enticres. The difference between the road of fighting against imperialists resolutely and the road of helping imperialists became ever more conspicuous."

Mention must also be made about the outstanding results of the struggle of the masses of people in Japan when we talk about the success of the conference.

The 180 Japanese delegates who attended the international meeting — the finest sons of the peace movement in Japan — made the most remarkable contributions to it : but they were representatives of millions of Japannese people, who together with them and fought a principled, selfless and disciplined struggle and had their views reflected directly at mass meetings held in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Nagasaki with 20.000 to 35.000 persons taking part.

On August 3, about 35.000 delegates who gathered in Kyoto City from all over the land, converged on to the rally site in six courses, staging marches of demonstration. Workers, peasants, small and medium entrepreneurs, scholars, artists, journalists and persons of all strata and occupations, a considerable number of women and aged people included, took part in the demonstration.

They carried placards, reading "For a Complete Ban on Nuclear Weapons" or "We support the struggle of South Vietnamese and Laotian peoples" or "America, get out of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

The most characteristic feature of this parade was seen when a downpour came, coupled with a thunder and lighting, while it was on its way. No one split away from the walking collumns, or changed his pace. The march went on just as steadily as before, with the marchers heightening their spirit ever more. It was a moving sight, which convinced one of the might of the people.

The next day, the 35.000 people scattered at 130-odd places, exchanging their experiences and their views about the future course of their common struggle. The conference rooms were mostly hot and stuffy, and they had to sit down directly on the floor. But they listened attentively to what was being said, took notes, and spoke out.

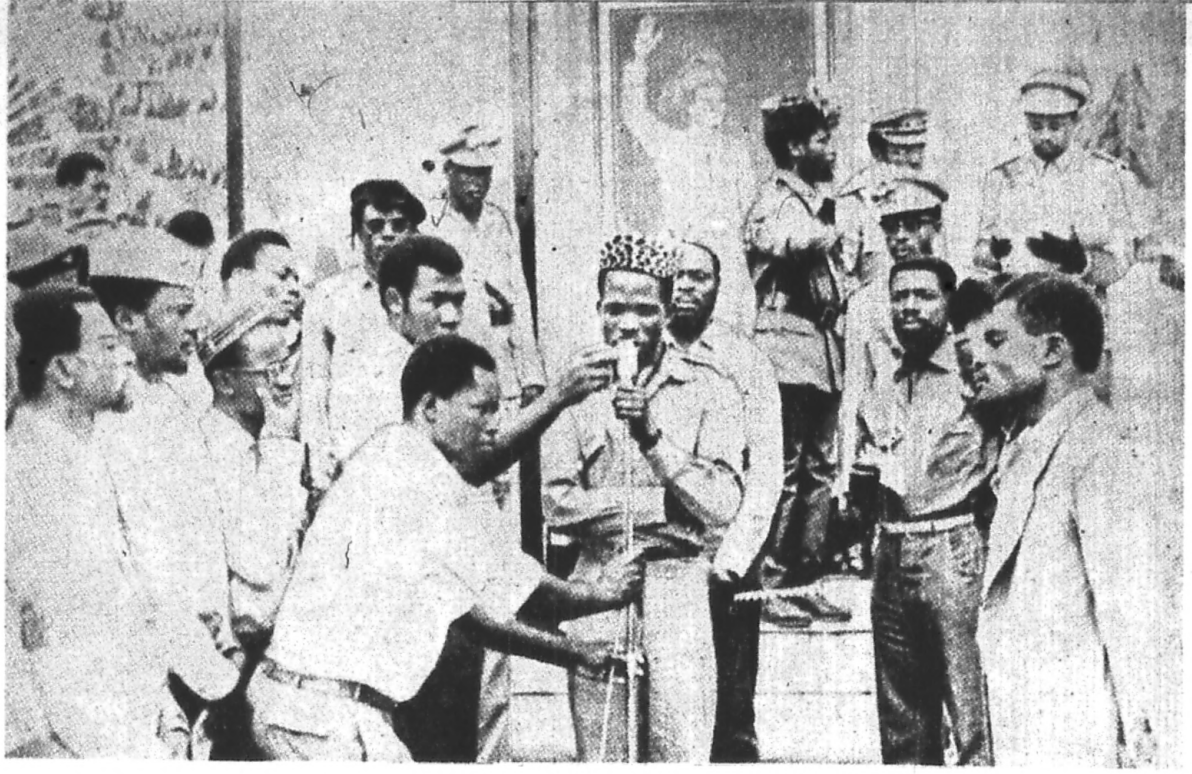
A foreign delegate said, "Here is a genuine movement of the masses themselves : here is a source of the principled and resolute struggle of the Japanese people. It is entirely different from some 'policy' decided upon by certain big shots over coffee or brandy." The remark was no exaggeration.

The Japanese masses of people also showed their spirit of international solidarity. At all the meetings, the Japanese delegates welcomed the foreign delegates with a hearty applause, listened to their reports almost devouringly, and gave them a cheering support. They held, and holds, that the struggle of the Congolese people, the Cuban people, and the Indonesian people was part of their own struggle.

On August 5, when a general meeting was held in Osaka, U.S. imperialists framed up the Gulf of Tonkyn incident: and this report of new aggression against the Vietnamese people was conveyed to the 35.000 delegates packing the Osaka municipal swimming pool on that night.

They unanimously adopted an emergency resolution against U.S. imperialists immediately and for the support of the Vietnamese people.

On the rostrum erected specially for the meeting, a Japanese delegate who read the resolution, and a chief Vietnamese delegation hugged each other tightly, with all the other participants, foreign and Japanese, remaining in standing ovation that reverberated in the city of Osaka for quite a long time.



GASTON SOUMIALIOT'S APPEAL TO CONGOLESE

Fellow countrymen of the liberated regions.

In my capacity as responsable person for security and real freedom of the citizens, I have to coney this message to you today.

Amidst the population that we have liberated from the oppression of the neocolonialist army of Mobutu, certain brothers and sisters of ours have innocently suffered as a consequence of deeds carried out by certain enemies of the revolution.

Who are they, the enemies of the revolution ? Those are the envious and rancourous, who, because they hate or envy a rival, accuse him in justly of being a tractor to his corentry. The enemies of our revolution, are those false nationalists who deck themselves out in a military uniform to permit themselves to commit violations of any kind, like rape, theft, torturing, indeed even murdering of innocent citizens among whom we are mourning some of our great militant brothers. The enemies of our revolution are still the men and women, provocators among simbas and civilians. We find the enemies of the revolution among the agents of the public services who believe the reckless accusations and who commit themselves to actions aimed at arresting innocents.

My dear fellow country men, we have stated enough that our revolution has as its objective the replacing of the shameless, unpopular and criminal regime of Leopoldville by a really democratic power, created by the people for the people. Those we have to fight are not those who have a beautiful car, a nice house or a social position that they have procured at the price of many sacrifices. Those we have to fight, and doing so with all means, are the counter-revolutionaries, those are the persons on whom positive proofs are bearing down that they have betrayed the cause for which Patrice Lumumba has died. For those, no mercy whatever. That is why I have decided to fight with all means that category of fellows I mentioned just now, because it is they who are the counter-revolutionaries, the real enemies of the revolution.

I recall and confirm here the message which the Military Staff of the ANL (National Liberation Army) some days ago has put forth to you in the same idea. Every arbitrary arrest will at the same time be turned against the accuser and against the agent who will have to bear the consequences, nothwithstanding the rank or function of the latter.

This message replaces at the same time the duty order addressed to the services charged with the security of the citizens and who are relieved from my assignments.

The idea is far from me, to defend here our enemies of the opposition. I merely want one thing : make everyone breath the air of real liberty and consolidate the confidence that the masses of the people have always nourished towards their revolutionary leaders.

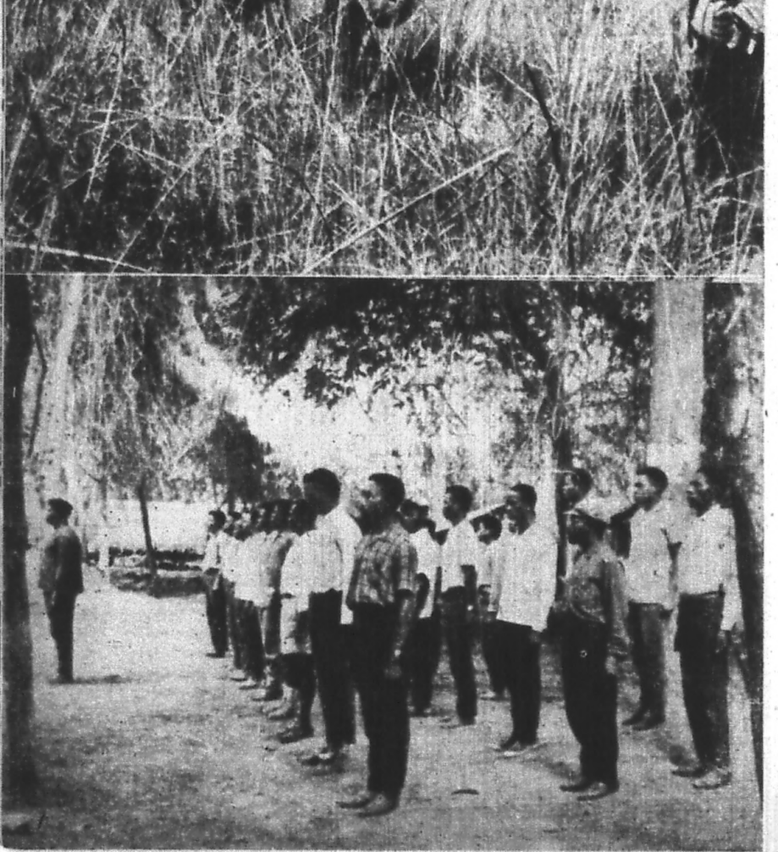
THE HIDDEN TRUTH OF CONGO THE US INTERVENTION

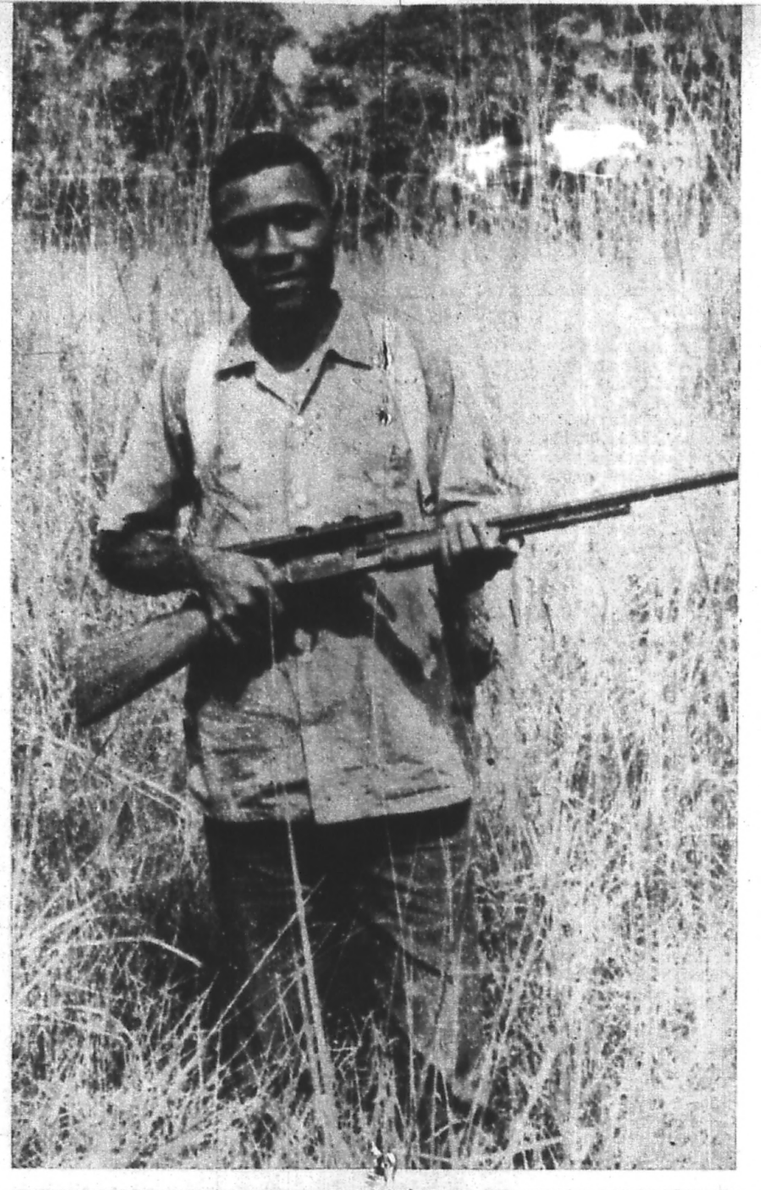
For four years already the United States' monopolists are trying to establish their control on the Congo which possesses enormous mineral reserves sources and holds a key position right in the heart of Africa. In the course of 4 years, the American imperialists have herefore made use of troops of the UNO and supported the Adoula Government with millions of dollars. Fearing the perspective of the coming into power of the disciples of Lumumba, the American imperialists have ressorted to armed intervention.

Recently the French weekly "France observateur" has published an article which shows what is behind the American interference in the Congo : the penetration of the Wall-Street monopolies. When people talk about the events in the Congo, writes the journal, one forgets always to underline the important role of the American investments in this country. But, this is one of the most important elements one should know in order to understand the situation.

In the Congo and particularly in Katanga one rarely finds an enterprise where there is no participation of American capital, underlines the "France Observateur". The Congolese companies that leap the interest of American capitalists, almost always prosper well. Between 1958 and 1959 the income

(Continued on page 47)





THE CONGO (LEO)

THE PATRIOTIC FORCES ARE DAILY GAINING NEW VICTORIES, NEITHER TSHOMBE THE IMPERIALIST STOOGE, NOR HIS IMPERIALIST MASTERS WILL AND CAN STOP THE MARCH OF THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE TO TRUE INDEPENDENCE

CAMBODIA

NEW U.S. IMPERIALISTS AGGRESSION — AAJA PROTESTS

AAJA STATEMENT

STATEMENT ON THE RECENT US AGGRESSION AGAINST CAMBODIA.

In a statement issued on November 5, 1964 the Secretariat of the AAJA condemns and protests at the recent aggressive acts of the South Vietnamese administration in connivance with the US imperialist against the sovereign territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

From late October on the US and South Vietnamese airforces are intensifying air-raids against Cambodian territories. The continuity and savageness of attacks by the US and South Vietnamese planes — as for instance bombing and strafing of villeges by the US F-101s, Skyraiders etc. in Prey Veng, Kompong-cham and other provinces were carried out successively during last ten days of October — reveal that those are not mere accidents or mistakes committed by some pilots, but open military acts of aggression with definite intentions of provoking war against Cambodia.

Afro-Asian Journalists strongly condemn together with Afro-Asian, Latin American peoples these viscious intrigues of US imperialism and its lackeys to expand war of aggression from South Vietnam and Laos to Cambodia. Afro-Asian Journalits firmly support the resolute stand taken by the Cambodian people headed by the Cambodian head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk against US imperialists' aggressions.

The AAJA support the Cambodian people's demand for the earliest convocation of Geneva Conference to condemn and stop US aggressive activities in this area.

(Continued on page 48)

LETTER OF APPRECIATION

In its statement of November 5, 1964, which was published in Antara's News Bulletin, the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association was kind enough to raise a protest against the recent acts of aggression against the territory of the sovereign Kingdom of Cambodia, thus extending its appreciable support to the just cause of the Khmer Kingdom.

At a moment when the whole people of Cambodia answering the appeal made by the Khmer Parliament and the Royal Government in their joint statement dated October 27, 1964, stands on the alert and is ready to encounter any new attacks from outside, the support of the A.A.J.A. is most precious as it helps strengthening furthermore the fighting spirit of the Khmer nation which under the clear-sighted leadership of her valiant Head of State, Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK, is striving by all means to defend her independence and her territorial integrity on the one hand, and on the other hand, to contribute to preserve peace in South East Asia in particular and in the whole world in general.

On behalf of Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK, the Khmer Parliament, the Royal Government, the Cambodian people, the Association of Journalists in Cambodia and on my own behalf, I have the honour to express to you, Mr. Secretary General, and through you, to the whole Secretariat of the A.A.J.A., my warmest and most sincere thanks for this important support.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary General, the assurance of my highest consideration.

KOUN WICK

Ambassador of Cambodia

The August — September 64 issue of your magazine "The Afro-Asian Journalist" is the first issue that I ever came across. And even though you don't have the reader's opinion page, I feel, I must nevertheless write in congratulating. The Afro-Asian Journalists Association for publishing such a revolutionary magazine. It is one of the best companions, a revolutionary can be proud of because, you are clearly exposing the wicked features of imperialism ; it is indeed an anti imperialist weapon.

World imperialism has many agents. Lyndon Johnson and Douglas Home are the senior agents, Salazar, Verwoerd and Franco their sub-agents and Chiang-kai-shek, Nguyen Khan and Tshombe their notorious stooges. All world troubles must be attributed to imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism for its nuclear blackmail and intervention in other sovereignty under the cover of safeguarding "freedom countries and democracy". People the world over have understood the U.S. imperialists as murderers, plunderers and gangsters and NOT defenders of "freedom and democracy". The American Negroes are being mercilessly murdered by the notorious KKK gang inspite of the socalled Civil Rights Bill passed by the US congress. This is the imperialists democracy.

I completely agree with your edtorial captioned "Removing the Veil" especially in the statement with which you ended saying that "US imperialism" is passionately desirous of filling up the area vacated by the French. British, Belgium and other imperialists in Africa and South East Asia. Really this is the wicked ambition of these murderers, and it is a fact that through some reactionary rulers, the US imperialists have taken sufficient hold in some countries in Asia and Africa and are trying hard to generate a nascent capitalist class BUT, surely the people of these countries will not tolerate this, they will surely dislodge these flunkeys and drive out the imperialists from their countries. Neo-colonialism will not be tolerated.

The imperialists build up their so-called rich countries through robbery in Africa and Asia, and shamelessly. Now the US imperialists always threaten countries which refused te bow to their dictatorial orders with a "cut in economic aid". Bung Karno — The Indonesian President had told the US imperialists "to go to hell with your aid" and Indonesia is now growing more prosperous with each passing day. There is no compromise with imperialism — our deadly enemy, we must fight against military imperialism, economic imperialism and cultural imperialism.

The US imperialists are trying hard to turn countries in Africa and Asia into their play grounds as they have done to Latin America. We are heroic and freedom loving, therefore we must not tolerate the imperialists in our countries. The South Vietnamese people will surely triumph over the US murderers headed by Johnson inspite of a constant change of stooges. The 650 million Chinese people will definitely drive the US imperialists out of Taiwan, Laos too will be free of the imperialists. The heroic Congolese (Leo) people too will certainly triumph over the imperialists and their notorious stooge "ASSASIN TSHOMBE". And of course the people of Latin America too have the Cuban revolution as a good example, so they will surely follow the path. At last imperialism will be isolated and be defeated.

I believe the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association is one of the fruits of the 1955 Bandung Conference, and I therefore earnestly hope that the Journalists of Africa and Asia will resolutely continue to expose all the intrigues of imperialism to the world in general and the Afro-Asian nations in particular.

"Maleter",
YOLA,
Northern Nigeria

Time running out

The sinister designs of Western Imperialism, spearheaded by the United States, are admirably spotlighted by "the Afro-Asian Journalist" new issue. Accept the congratulations of a refugee from Fascist South Africa.

It is now clear that the Congo is NATO's top-priority area in Africa. The plan is to convert this immensely strategic and wealthy country in the heart of the Continent into a permanent Western military base. Verwoerd's Apartheid South Africa has a leading role to play in the scheme. Nuclear weapons, rockets and conventional arms, far in excess of defence needs, are being accumulated in the Republic. The advance guards of these new forces are already killing African people in the Kindu and Stanleyville areas. Tshombe is in league with Verwoerd, Welensky and the military bosses of Britain, the USA and Belgium, to wrench Congo Leopoldville from neutralism and to commit it to the Western side in the Cold War. And from this formidable base the fascist white racists of Southern Africa are to be encouraged by the Pentagon planners to provoke and wage new Imperialist conquests of Free African states. The design is none other than to set the clock back in Africa to its pre-1945 condition !

The Leaders of Free Africa, and their friends in Asia, should take warning of these immediate dangers, and act at once to oppose and destroy the aggressors. Time is running out ! Countless millions of people in all parts of the world are willing to assist in this struggle if permitted to do so. But, in the past, such intervention has been prevented by the shortsightedness of those in states bordering the Congo. Hence the fall of Gizenga's Stanleyville regime and the tragic turn of events overtaking his successors at the present moment.

I appeal to you, and to all progressive Journalists everywhere, to scream the truth from the housetops, and to initiate a holy crusade against the internationl rapists and looters who have, in fact, declared war against the peoples of Africa and Asia.

T.N.W. Bush.

Articles lively .....

Today we have received the French edition of "the Afro-Asian Journalist" which you were kind enough to send us. "Revolution" greets with enthusiasm the appearance of your magazine in the French language, which will play an important role in the regrouping and consolidation of anti-imperialist and neo-colonialist new emerging forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The articles are varied, lively and well documented. The make-up is clear, distinct and airy.

We wish you much greater successes in your work. Please receive, dear friends and comrades, fraternally greetings of the entire bureau of "Revolution", and in particular of its director, Jacques Verges.

Nguyen Kien.
Chief editor.

Introduce to pupils .....

I'm an Indonesian teacher of S.M.P. (Junior High School) Santu Joseph, here in Djakarta.

I got your edition of "the Afro-Asian Journalist" magazine, and after I've read it, I'm sure I like it.

I'm very interested on "the Afro-Asian Journalist" magazine and want to have it continuously.

I shall try to introduce it to all my friends and my pupils. to make them more understand how forceful our Revolution is.

Thanks you very much for your kindness.

R.J. Subyanto Tjokrodhiningrat

(Continued on page 28)

(*Continuation from page 27*)

Pens deciding factor

I had a short meeting with three members of the Association at the Nairobi Airport on their way back to Djakarta via Cairo. It was a brotherly meeting with a cordial chat.

Writers in Afro-Asian bloc have an important role to play in asserting the imposing personality of the emerging forces of the new nations. I believe our pens will be the deciding factor in the nuclear and space age. Unity will be the only criteria and we should always work to that goal.

WERE OLONDE
KENYA

In the Spirit of AA Journalists' Solidarity

(*Continuation from page 18*)

Through the African visit, the delegation has further realized the importance of the exchange of visits between AA journalists. A friend in Cairo said that up till the time of delegation's visit, the AAJA remained to him only a brilliant word, while after the visit, the AAJA suddenly assumed the faces of these AAJA delegates in his vision and became quite alive. The AAJA becoming something humane and alive to AA friends must be very important for the AAJA activities. The exchange of visits must be developed systematically.

The delegation also witnessed a vast common ground of interests among AA journalists against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Achieving unity by holding fast this common struggle will guarantee success of the next AAJC.

The delegation found that exchange of informations between AA journalists in their fight for independence and against imperialism, colonilism and neo-colonialism must be strengthened by every means. The full development of fighting solidarity of AA peoples is still seriously hampered by the lack of informations, as for example about the truth on the Indonesian people's struggle to crush neo-colonialist "Malaysia".

DENUNCIATION OF BARBAROUS SUPPRESSION OF PAPERS IN SOUTH KOREA

The Central Committee of the Korean Journalists' Union issued a statement denouncing the barbarous suppression of South Korean pressmen by the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique.

The statement strongly demanded that the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique immediately stop their fascist suppression of the speech and the press and release at once the director of the editorial board of Chosun Ilbo and other men of the press behind the bars.

In the name of the entire men of the press in the northern half of the country, the statement expressed surging indignation at the high-handed suppression of the South Korean press circles by the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique and extended fervent support and encouragement to the struggle of the South Korean pressmen for freedom of speech and the press and the great cause of the unification of the fatherland.

On November twentyone the Pak Jung Hi clique illegally arrested the director of the editorial board and a journalist of the political section of the South Korean paper Chosun Ilbo, seized its issue of that date and banned its distribution.

Earlier, they jailed Whang Ryong Joo, director of Radio Moonhwa in Seoul, on the charge of having contributed an article concerning the unification question to the November issue of the South Korean Journal "Sedai" and at the same time suspended the journal.

The statement continued :

This is a most barbarous act of repression for keeping down the sentiments for unification ever mounting in South Korea and crudely trampling upon freedom of the press, the elementary norm of social life.

It is the bounden duty of the South Korean pressmen to reflect in the publications the powerful call of the people of all strata for unification and report about the dynamic trend of internal and international situations.

I is the fulfilment of the lofty duty assigned them and the exercise of their inalienable rights. There is no ground to take legal sanction against them.

As the South Korean press also points out, "unification is a question of the whole nation" and it should be freely and widely discussed by the South Korean Public.

The new suppressive steps taken by the Pak Jung Hi clique against the press activities in South Korea, needless to say, is the continuation of their foul treachery for opposing unification and maintaining split and leaving our country under the yoke of U.S. imperialism.

We pressmen possess the pen which is more powerful than the repression of the oppressors and we have national conscience and love for the fatherland. No outrage can rob the men of the press of right to thinking and the freedom of report.

The statement urges the South Korean pressmen to hold high the pen of justice and win the freedom of press activities and raise higher the voice reflecting the aspiration of the thirty million compatriots for the independent unification of the fatherland.

Perhaps we'd better try the north now.

AFRO-ASIAN EVENTS DOCUMENTS-REPORTS

* Our Third Plenary Secretariat Meeting (Bandung — 27 - 30 Nov.)
* Communique — Non - Alligned Summit Conference (a summary)

Document — Report I

OUR THIRD PLENARY SECRETARIAT MEETING

(BANDUNG — 27 - 30th. Nov.)

For the last week of the month of December the historic flower city of Bandung, the scene of many important Afro-Asian events, especially the Historic Bandung Conference which changed the course of world history and the venue where the most important document in the history of the Afro-Asian press was agreed to, and ratified by 47 Afro-Asian Journalists union, groups and members, was scene of an important event for our Afro-Asian Journalists' Association : a meeting of the third Plenary Meeting of our Secretariat. It was the third Plenary Meeting of our Secretariat, the directing and administrative and executive organ of the AAJA, and its aim of course was to examine the activities of our Association since the last Secretariat meeting in December last and to outline a plan for our future activities.

OPENING SESSION.

This third Plenary Meeting of our Secretariat held from the 27 — 30 December represented a further historic milestone in the development and consolidation of our organisation, and was a great leap forward in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and all its manifestations, and for the struggle for national independence, freedom and genuine world peace.

The meeting was attended by secretary representatives from Algiers (A. Belazoug), Ceylon (W. Perara), Mali (Bakary Troare representing Mamoudou Gologo), South Africa (Lionel Morrison), Pakistan (Asrar Ahmed), Syria (A. Aboukoss,) China (Wang Yi assisted by Yang Yi), Japan (Kobayashi assisted by Sugiyama), and Indonesia (Joesoef). The Zambian representative came late.

The meeting was opened on the morning of the 27th at Hotel Grand Preanger, by the Deputy Secretary General Joesoef. This session as all the others which followed was presided over by him.

Being the first to take the floor in order to open the deliberations, Secretary General Joesoef after greeting all the delegates who had come from various corners of Africa and Asia, recalled the aim and the historic mission of the Third Plenary Session of the Secretariat, and he presented his detailed, far reaching and important report. This report which is reproduced in its near entirety in the following pages, consisted of a detailed examination of political and journalistic conditions obtaining in the world today. It minutely reviewed how the decisions adopted at both the Historic First Afro-Asian Journalists Conference held in April 1963 and the Gadog Second Plenary Session of the Secretariat had had been carried out, and detailed and elaborated a programme of activity for the coming period. He emphasised that the work and activity of the AAJA at this crucial period in the changing conditions facing mankind in the world today had assumed an importance beyond more words. At this point recalling the actual conditions in the body politic of the world, and the just struggles of the peoples of the world, in particular the Afro-Asian peoples for national independence, freedom and peace, and against imperialism, colonialism and all its manifestations, he said .....

"Facts bear witness that in the period of this one Year, the international political situation has been developing most rapidly particularly in Afro-Asia because of the surging struggle everywhere in the world against the avarice and the aggressivness of Imperialism. The imperialist countries are forever stepping up their efforts to halt the peoples national independence movements and to hamper the progress of the peoples that have newly shed their shackles of oppression. However, imperialist practices are meeting an all out resistance by the peoples in the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America".

This report succinctly proved beyond any doubt that the main and first enemy of all peoples of the world is Imperialism led by the USA. It also showed and stressed the imbilical cord joining the monopolistic cartels, the reactionary news media and the underdeveloped state of journalism in some Afro-Asian countries, to imperialism and colonialism.

Continuing, the Secretary General spoke of the noble mission facing the Afro-Asian journalists. He emphasised the direct and correct correlation between journalism and politics, and pointed out that journalism is not only a trade by which the journalist earns his livelihood, but above all a socio-political mission to destroy the virus (imperialism and colonialism) which has affected our body politic. He emphasised that the AAJA should direct all its labours towards the total destruction of imperialism and colonialism and towards the improvement of our journalistic conditions. In connection with the latter point the secretarial report dealt with the AAJA sheme to train Afro-Asian journalists to become not only proficient in journalism but to become revolutionaries steeped in the anti-imperialist struggle. "A course for the training in journalistic work, theoretically and practically which should arm the students with the knowledge

Left to right — colleagues:
Soepeno (Indonesia)
Sugiyama (Japan)
Tahsin (Indonesia)
A. Aboukoss (Syria)
Bakary Traore (Mali)
Yuichi Kobayashi (Japan)
Lionel Morrison (South Africa)
Joesoef (Indonesia)
Asrar Ahmad (Pakistan)
Abdulaziz Belazoug (Algeria)
Wang Yi (China)
Yang Yi (China)
Wong Yu Hui (China)
Li Hing Kai (China)

about the role and the function of the means of mass communication as an able tool in the struggle of the AA peoples to achieve full independence, as a tool of the revolution in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism". He reported.

The Secretary General concluded his report by announcing that the AAJA had received and has accepted an invitation to attend the PAUJ steering Committee meeting to be held in Algiers. This he emphasised was witness to the close collaboration between the AAJA and PAUJ and the honest recognition that a strong PAUJ "also forms a strong basis for the solidarity of AA journalists".

Discussion of Report.

The Secretarial report was then opened for discussion to the Plenary session. Lively, constructive discussions then took place, which showed a consensus of agreed opinion regarding the Secretarial report. The South African delegate, L. Morrison who was the first to take the floor at this session, after agreeing fully with the report of the Secretary General, urged the Plenary Session to publicise the US and Belgium imperialists agression in the Congo, by sending cable to the parties concerned condemning the recent aggression and by supporting the revolutionary forces in Stanleyville. This suggestion was unanimously agreed to by all the secretaries present.

(Telegrams reproduced in later pages).

The Pakistan Secretary delegate, Asrar Ahmed (whose speech we publish in the next issue) fully exposed the sinister machination of the apologists of Imperialism, and the anti-Bandung concepts entertained by certain Asian countries. In his review of the activities of the Pakistan journalists he clearly showed the close cooperation between the AAJA and the Pakistan journalists, and the ways and means they are employing to hold high the banner of the Djakarta Declaration.

A report from the Syrian colleague A. Aboukoss indicated the immense activity of colleague A. Aboukoss in promoting the ideals of the AAJA, and also painted a clear picture of the state of journalism in the various Asian countries he had visited. Both colleagues Bakary Troare (Mali) and A. Belazoug (Algeria) in detail exposed the neo-colonialists and imperialists machinations in the Congo, and urged positive action by the AAJA to help the revolutionary struggle by still further exposing the aggressive designs of the Imperialists and by truly depicting the situation in the Congo.

The lively report from the Japanese Secretary delegate Yuichi Kobayashi gave further proof of the intense anti-imperialist struggle the Japanese people are waging to rid themselves from the bondage of the US imperialists.

The Chinese colleague warmly greeted the Secretarial report and pledged the full and undaunted support of the All China Journalists Association to the AAJA in its struggle to better AA journalists conditions, and in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

"We hail the correct anti-imperialist/anti-colonialists line of the AAJA which has won the approval of all the anti-imperialist forces, especially the AA peoples" Wang Yi, leader of the Chinese delegation stated.

This session which lasted until the evening of the 27th, ended with a motion by colleague Asrar Ahmed and seconded by colleague Morrison, accepting the Secretarial report. This motion was unanimously accepted by the session.

The Secretariat members later in the evening were guests at a well attended banquet given by the Secretary General and the Bandung Chapter of the Indonesian Journalists Association. A keynote message from Mme Hartini Sukarno was read, which emphasised the historical importance of the AAJA, and the current plenary session.

Messages were also read from the Indonesian Minister of Information ad interim Ds. Rumambi who laid special emphasis on the journalistic code and ethics that should govern the activities of AA journalists. The Governor and Mayor of Bandung in their speeches called on the AAJA to continue its good work. The many important national dignatories who attended the banquet among others included Njoto, Minister of state, Karim D.P. Chairman of the Indonesian Journalists' Association etc. Delegates were then treated to a varied cultural programme, which depicted the rich cultural life of the Indonesian people.

On the 28th discussion centred around the Working paper, which included itenms like our French & English organ „The Afro-Asian Journalist", the projected news bulletin, the Training Course, and Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference to be held in Algiers in April next etc.

These discussions were on a very high standard, very constructive, and indicated that the activities of Permanent Secretariat in carrying out its duties entruted it by the AAJC and the Gadok Meeting, were correct and reflected the expectations of all the Secretaries particularly, and the AA peoples generally. The practical results of this session cannot be underestimated. Futhter details of the decisions arrived at will appear in other parts of the report.

Closing Session.

The final session which stretched up to the late hours of the 29th, marked the discussion and adoption of 28 resolutions covering journalistic and political matters. The various resolutions which are reproduced in full in the following pages, reflects the firm solidarity of the AAJA with all the struggling and fighting journalists of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and full support to the anti-imperialist struggles waged by the peoples of the world, especially the peoples of the storm centres, the areas where imperialism is the most rife, agressive and is meeting its Waterloo.

Joesoef, Secretary General of the AAJA closed the Plenary Secretariat Meeting after Yuichi Kobayashi, Japanese Secretary in a short speech praised the successful efforts of the Indonesian journalists and goverment, led by President Sukarno in making it possible for the 3rd Plenary session to meet, Joesoef lauded the line of conduct of the AAJA, emphasising above all its complete committment to the upliftment of the working conditions of all Afro-Asian Journalists and its firm involvement in the anti-imperialists struggle and the struggle for national independence peace and freedom.

LIONEL MORRISON.

GENERAL REPORT

of the Secretary General

Dear colleagues,

Allow me first of all, to welcome all the colleagues that have come here in compliance with our invitation in order to attend the Third Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat.

We have chosen the city of Bandung which is better known as the "Afro-Asian City" and is named also "The city of flowers" for our meeting this time. It has been the venue of the first AA Conference as well as that of the signing of the "Djakarta Declaration" resulted from the first AA Journalists Conference. Besides, the air here is cool. We therefore hope that our meeting will be successful and proceed smoothly, because I am convinced that this city which is imbued with the spirit of the AA Conference and the AA Journalists Conference which have been crowned with such brilliant successes, will inspire us all.

Indeed, it is as President Sukarno expressed, "the roots of the tree of the Bandung spirit have deeper penetrated into the earth. Its leaves grown loftier. Its blossoms fuller in bloom. It is yielding more and richer fruit".

Afro-Asian solidarity has grown stronger, and this constitutes a mountain of rock which is smashing each reactionary and counter-revolutionary plot, and attempt schemed at by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, — thus said President Sukarno.

In a setting of such precious facts, dear friends, let us make this Bandung meeting, a meeting that will be driving force towards our Second Bandung Conference, a meeting that will yield further successes in the work of the progressive Afro-Asian press, and the struggle of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Organization.

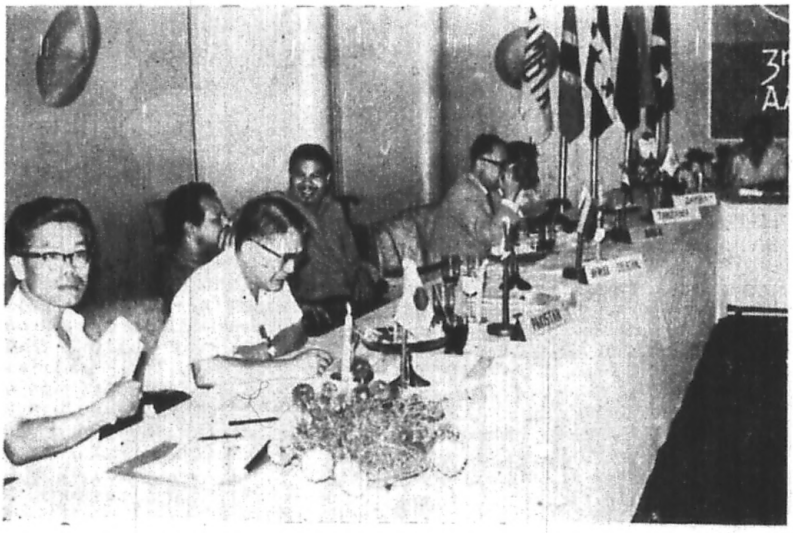
WORLD SITUATION SINCE THE FIRST AAJC

It has been exactly a year since we held the Second Plenary Secretariat Meeting in Gadok (Bogor) where important decisions were adopted in the political as well as in the organizational field. Facts bear witness that in the period of this one year, the international political situation has been developing most rapidly particularly in Africa and Asia because of the surging struggle everywhere in the world against the avarice and the aggressiveness of imperialism.

The imperialist countries are forever stepping up their efforts to halt the people's national independence movements and to hamper the progress of the peoples that have newly shed their shackles of oppression. However, imperialist practices are meeting an all-out resistance by the peoples in the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Various peoples in Africa are still facing the most outmoded forms and methods of domination together with the most vicious and shameful kinds of oppression as are being experienced at this moment by the people of Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea and in various parts of the regions of West Africa, South-west Africa and Southern Africa. But besides this, the countries that have newly obtained their independence are facing domination in a new form, as experienced by the people of the Congo (Leopoldville), which is

Delegates to the Meeting, from left to riglit — Sugiyama, Kobayashi, Asrar Achmad, Morrison, Aboukoss.



not only holding the freedom of Congolese people in its grip, but is also very much endagering the freedom of the peoples in Africa in general. In various parts of the world, imperialism emerges with ever more atrocious measures, launching an open war against the just struggling peoples. The Congo, finally has fallen victim to the villainly of imperialism, US imperialism in the first place. That it is US imperialism that is interfering in the Congo has clearly been shown by President Kwame Nkrumah in his address to the Pan-African Journalists' Conference at the end of last year :

"American and Belgian capitalists have now resolved their differences in the Congo, whose wealth they mean to exploit as joint partners once a military dictatorship has broken completely the Lumumbaist political forces and the resistance of the industrial workers. The writing on the wall for the Congo is as plain as it was in Peru, as it was in the Dominican Republic and Honduras — as it was in South Vietnam in order to give the war against the people of Vietnam a new lease of life. The plight of the Congo is no secret in Africa. It is known in the fullest detail in every part of the world. What will happen if we allow the Congo Republic to go the way of a Latin American Republic. We shall do no less than give the green light for the consortium of imperialists now operating in Africa to go ahead with plans for the structure of neo-colonialism here in the Latin American model" This statement clearly shows that the new oppressor of the Congo is the US.

In South Africa, the racialist-fascist Verwoerd government is being maintained and defended to extremity by the British together with the US imperialists. This alliance has been displayed crystal clear in the UNO. Meanwhile US monopoly capital continues to flow into South Africa.

The picture of the political situation in Asia does not show any difference from that in Africa. The Arab States in the Middle East are unitedly facing US imperialism that is fully supporting Israel, in the latter's efforts to launch bellicose provocations against the surrounding Arab States. The projected South Arab Federation is a new manifestation of the imperialist attempts to continue their oppression and exploitation.

South Vietnam is a region in Asia where US imperialism for a long time has been waging an open permanent war in order to defend its domination.

Cambodia at its borders is continuously being attacked most shamelessly by US imperialism whereas the National Unity already obtained in Laos has been obstructed by the nefarious interference of US imperialism.

It is not difficult to prove that US imperialism is giving all-out support to British imperialism in suppressing the people's independence movement in North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore and in defending the neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia". The joint statement of Johnson-Tunku Abdulrrachman and the sending of a US military mission to "Malaysia" is proof that US imperialism is directly assisting the neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia".

The UNO too, whose composition does not reflect at all the reality of the political situation in the world today, as shown firmly in its failure to restore the legistimate rights to membership of the People's Republic of China, is often excercising its authority in maintaining the influence of Imperialist domination by neglecting entirely the interests of the peoples of Afro-Asia. Only by a complete structural change and adjustment of membership in confirmity with the actual development of the present day world can the UNO carry into effect its tasks towards independence and peace.

Our own experiences prove that neo-colonialism, which main force is US imperialism, is the greatest danger to Afro-Asian unity and power and to the liberation struggle, particularly in the three continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The line of resistance against neo-colonialism, which has been called by President Modibo Keita "the greatest threat to our freedom and progress" has been underlined in the preamble of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, whereas during the recent Non-Alligned Conference held in Cairo, the defenders of neo-colonialism who are hiding behind the cover of "world peace" had to take a trenchant blow. The Cairo Conference in great outline has smashed the illusion about any kind of peace with the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces, and has succeeded in adopting positive decisions. This means an important step towards advancing the success of the Second AA Conference.

Important political changes have taken place since October last.

Johnson's victory over Goldwater in the United States and the replacement of the Tory government by that of the Labour Party in England have not changed the character of imperialism, but, on the contrary, it is possible that the British Labour government will be more dependent on the US than the former Tory government. Although here and there the Labour government will differ from the Tories e.g. — the attitude towards the High Commission Territories and Southern Rhodesia. As to the absolute victory of Johnson, the new US President, this might increase the political covetousness of US imperialism. The change in leadership that occurred in the Soviet Union by the replacement of Kruschev as First Minister and Leader of the Communist Party of the USSR, according to the reactions of the world press in general has been caused by a number of mistakes made in connection with his relations with Imperialism and with the other socialist countries.

The current of the national liberation movement, the surging armed struggle of the people in a number of countries in Africa, Latin America, and South Vietnam, Laos and North Kalimantan in Asia, demand a firm stand in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Second Tonkin incident that has been most viciously launched by US imperialism against the Vietnamese People, can only be replied to with strong unanimous determination and a widespread solidarity of all peoples, primarily the peoples of Africa and Asia.

Indeed, exactly because of this imperialist ferocity, the force of the people's struggle has been aroused — the movement for national independence is spreading, and the people's armed resistance is surging — and genuine solidarity among the peoples engaged in struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America is growing stronger.

In an extremely short time, the fighters of the Congo have liberated a part of their territory from the grip of the imperialist powers and their lackeys.

The spirit of Lumumba, this hero who is being honoured not only in Africa but also in Asia, Latin America and throughout the progressive world, has given birth to thousands, indeed, tens of thousands of heroes of the Congo people. It is no longer possible to make the Congo people subject to the will of imperialism, still less to a Tshombe who rose out of the imperialist mire.

Tshombe has not only been denounced by the people of the Congo, but has been condemned by all the fighting peoples in Asia and Africa. We are extending the highest salute to the Congo people who are engaged in a vehement and courageous struggle to the death to gain their independence clear from imperialist and neo-colonialist domination. We equally hail vigorously the beginning of the armed struggle of the Mozambique people against colonial oppression, proclaimed in September last. We express our anxiety, most profound sympathy and vigorous condemnation at the incident of the capture and murdering of South African people's leaders, victims of the fascist and racial barbarity of Verwoerd, White Supremacy and Monopoly Capital.

In Algeria the imperialists fearing the far reaching aims of the Revolutionary Peoples Government have supported and employed counter-revolutionary elements to undermine the Revolutionary Government of President Ben Bella.

We have in reverence stood witness to the victories gained by the South Vietnamese people in their struggle against US imperialism ; and the victories won by the troops of the National South Vietnamese Liberation Front in Bien-Hoa — a heroic event widely known among the AA peoples, are facts that speak of the immense success achieved by the people that are united and animated by the patriotic spirit.

Never before in history has the people's resistance developed to such an extent and so widely against US imperialism as at the present moment. In Japan, demonstrations by the Japanese people against the attempt to dock nuclear US submarines there are not only incessantly being carried out but are also growing in strength.

Anti-US demonstrations by the people of South Korea are also becoming more powerful and more and more extensive. Countries, where anti-US mass movements up to the moment have never been registered like the Philippines and Tanganyika, today are witnessing militant demonstrations organised to oppose the influence of US imperialist domination, that are getting the support of all layers of the population.

In Pakistan, Ceylon and the countries in South East Asia and even in India the spirit of fighting imperialism has

Joesoef, Secretary General presenting colleague Belazoug with a souvenir.

never been extinguished, an overpowering spirit to oppose the penetration of the seventh US fleet into the Afro-Asian Ocean is rising; — we are introducing a new name for what was formerly called the Indian Ocean with the intention of implanting the important understanding that this extensive ocean exactly unites the two continents of Africa and Asia.

Everywhere opposition against US imperialism is sweeping the world, especially in some Latin American countries, in particular in Venezuela, Panama and Columbia where they have put up frontal and armed resistance ! In Cuba, in spite of the continual US imperialists aggressive provocations, their employement of various subversive and counter-revolutionary elements, their Trade embargo, and the pertinent continued illegal occupation of Guantanamo — sovereign Cuban territory — as a war base, the revolutionary Cuban people are continuing to hold high the banner of revolution. In the Carribbean, especially British Guiana the US imperialists intrigues and involvement and their influence over the British Government has resulted in a political stalemate, the arrests of hundreds of freedom fighters and the more direct influence and intervention of US imperialism in the Caribbean. How very right Prince Norodom Sihanouk was, when he said "we will not humiliate ourselves before the dollar".

Indeed, even in the country of the dollar and in various capitalist countries, the workers are waging a vehement struggle against the oppression of the monopoly capitalists. A mounting wave of strikes by the workers is threatening the position of the monopoly capitalists. In the US, the struggle of the Afro-Americans against the racialist policy and measures is gaining momentum and declarations of solidarity are pouring in from all corners of the world.

In the field of sport too, the US imperialists too, are pursuing a policy of division of setting one against the other by utilizing the IOC to oppose the New Emerging Forces (Nefo). The success of the Ganefo, exactly one year ago, has been a firm reply to every kind of intrigue from the imperialists.

All this, shows only all the more clearly that the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism cannot be separated from the struggle against US imperialism, and that solidarity in the struggle is a prerequisite for the success of the struggle itself.

President Ben Bella has brilliantly explained this condition of solidarity when he said, "We do not have the right to think about filling our stomachs while in Angola and Mozambique our brothers are being killed. In order to achieve the independence for the peoples that are still held in colonial subjugation, we must dare to die, as that our unity will not be a meaningless word".

The most able weapon to mobilize the peoples forces to fight imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is the spirit of the solidarity that has been radiated by the Bandung spirit.

The Bandung Conference is a weapon in the hands of the Afro-Asian people who are still fighting for their national independence, in order to continue their struggle dauntlessly, for the ten Bandung principles supports unreservedly all peoples that are fighting to gain their independence. Bandung has given birth to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the- AA Students' Conference, the AA Writers' Conference, the AA Film Festival, and the AA Journalists' Conference too, is the natural child of the Bandung Conference. In the meantime, the AA Workers' Conference, will also be held in Indonesia, in the near future, as also the AA Islamic Conference, the Second AA Writers' Conference, while it now has been definitely decided that Algeria at the begining of next year will be host to the Second AA Conference, and after that to the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference, the AA Women Conference and the Seminar. "Bandung" had made the current of the liberation movement and struggles run unchecked and cannot be stopped by imperialists or others. It has also become impossible to stop the creation of independent countries like Kenya, Basutoland, Zambia and others.

A very important event that cannot possibly be ignored is the capability of the Chinese People's Republic that has succeeded in exploding its first atomic bomb in October last. This explosion has changed the balance of powers in the world in favour of the struggle of the peoples of Afro-Asia and Latin America, for independence and peace and has opened the way for a summit conference on the complete prohibition and the thorough destruction of nuclear arms. This explosion has also raised the importance of the struggle of Afro-Asia-Latin America and the prestige of Bandung.

ROLE OF AA PRESS

Thus, the role of the AA press should be to spread the Bandung Spirit more extensively and to make it more powerfully reverberating, — this spirit of the AA people's solidarity. The role of the AAJA is to mobilize the revolutionary forces of the AA peoples into one mighty force, turning it into a single force in opposing one single enemy, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Evidently the AA Journalists' Association has, within one year, known to carry out its effective and valuable role in the domain of information and propaganda. The AAJA has been joining in disseminating conceptions and ideas that are the property of the AA peoples in their struggle to achieve complete national independence. The AAJA has established solidarity among the progressive press by pursuing a firm and resolute line in fighting imperialism and neo-colonialism. The AAJA has established an ever stronger friendship between journalists in general and fighting journalists in Afro-Asian in particular.

It must be admitted that the press in Afro-Asia, generally speaking, is still at an underdeveloped stage, seen from the technical point of view in the first place, whereas the limited printing and distribution facilities are very much hampering its influence from spreading more extensively among the public. In several countries in Afro-Asia, the situation still exists, where the technical equipment of the press is completely in the hands of "Western" monopolists, while the progressive press — where there are any — merely consists of pamphlets which are only occasionally appearing. However, no matter how modest our publishing apparatus, important is "the man behind the gun", important is, that each publication must be in the hands of revolutionary fighters.

It is for this reason that the press in the hands of revolutionaries has a multiple task. Besides spreading the ideas of the Revolution and conceptions on Afro-Asian identity, besides co-ordinating the fighting forces and mobilizing the powers of the mass on a grand scale, our press should also destroy false propaganda and the poison of division launched by the Western monopolist press, it should also eliminate the influence and the power of the press of the imperialists and their lackeys, it should also prevent and struggle against its prostituting itself to imperialist propaganda.

In these instances too, the AAJA can and must positively contribute to the development of the position of the press and its journalists in the countries of Asia and Africa.

The AAJA has always followed and paid attention to the activities and struggle of the journalists in every country especially in Africa and Asia.

Apart from that, the AAJA which is fostering the solidarity among the fighting journalists, has stated its full support to the South Korean journalists who are resisting the repressive measures against the press. The AAJA warmly sympathies with the Pakistan journalists who are endeavouring hard to emeliorate their lot. In connection with the capture of South African journalists the AAJA has expressed its indignation and denounced the fascist measures of Verwoerd. The AAJA has vigorously expressed its protest against the arbitrary and anti-democratic measures in Brazil that have put Chinese journalists in arrest. The Ceylon journalists through the Ceylon Journalist Association in its support of the Ceylon Government to break the monopoly of the Press in the hands of various antagonistic and reactionary combines also have our full support.

the Afro-Asian Journalist

* Editorial Board : Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Secretary-General : Djawoto.
  Deputy Secretary-General : Joesoef.
* Address : Press House, Djakarta, Republic of Indonesia.
* Monthly Review of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.
* Published in the Interest of Afro-Asian Journalists' Solidarity, and of the struggle against Imperialism/Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism.

PREPARATION FOR THE SECOND AAJC.

As we have decided in our meeting in Gedok last year, the Second AAJC will be held in Algiers. It was with great pleasure that the Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat of the AAJA received the generous offer of President Ben Bella to hold the Second AAJC in Algeria, a country with a glorious fighting history, symbol of the rightfulness of armed struggle to win independence. Algiers which has only recently celebrated the tenth anniversary of its great armed struggle which had been crowned with such a magnificent victory under the leadership of President Ben Bella, certainly forms a favourable place for the coming AAJC.

The AAJA Secretariat's mission that travelled to Algiers last September, has discussed the preparations for the Second AAJC with the colleagues from the Algerian Journalists' Association headed by their Secretary General Mr. Abdelaziz Belazoug. We can tell you that our discussions ended very satisfactorily. We found our Algerian colleagues serious in their efforts to fulfill as much as possible the expectations we put forward on behalf of the Second AAJC.

We are of the opinion, that the AAJA Secretariat, as a collective body which has been authorized to lead the organization of the AAJA, automatically should be fully responsible for everything concerning the organization of the coming Second AAJC. It is this collective Secretariat that has to discuss and take decisions regarding the preparation of the Second AAJC. It is our opinion that the Secretariat should assist as well as possible the colleagues of the Algerian Journalists' Association who are going to be host to the Second AAJC.

The first AAJC which has given birth to the AAJA and the "Djakarta Declaration" was a big success. The Second AAJC in keeping with the ever ascending revolutionary development in the world must of course achieve greater success still, first and foremost in the spirit of opposing imperialism headed at present by the US, for national independence of nations democracy and world peace. It must be able to render still greater contributions to the peoples of Afro-Asia who are still fighting for their independence and are waging a fierce struggle against colonialism. Therefore, all efforts must be exerted to have the Second AAJC attain maximum results. Anything that could reduce the success of the Second AAJC, anything that could obstruct the perfect unity and harmony within the AAJA as well as during the coming Second AAJC, we must prevent together. The Second AAJC should once more demonstrate the unity and solidarity of Afro-Asia, of their journalists in particular, who are united in the AAJA.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SECRETARIAT. —

Although it is not our intention here to go into details, we nonetheless would like for the sake of completeness to report the following concerning some of the main activities of the Secretariat.

— The publishing of the organization's organ may be said to have occupied most of our time and minds. The English edition of the "Afro-Asian Journalist" has come to number VI. Whereas we could start the French edition only last month having had a hard job overcoming all kinds of technical difficulties in printing and translating.

We beg the earnest attention of the members to these two important publications of ours. Our magazine certainly needs the maximum aid of all the members of the AAJA in general and of those of the Secretariat in particular, in the form of contributions of articles as well as in helping to realize a still more efficient distribution of our magazine in the whole of Afro-Asia and to other parts of the world. With your help, the Secretariat will keep striving to raise the fighting quality of the magazine's contents and to perfect its distribution.

The AAJA organ which has been warmly received by journalists in Africa and Asia, in the first place from the side of the freedom fighters, is an effective weapon to mobilize the progressive forces in the struggle against our common enemies, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

— Issuing statements on all the important international events relating to the peoples who are militantly struggling to gain full independence. These statements had bearing on political, press and sport events in Afro-Asia as well as in other parts of the world. The AAJA always takes an active interest in the revolutionary struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin America now. In accordance with its principles the AAJA is always on the side of the progressive Peoples who are fighting against imperialism and renders its full support in mobilizing public opinion in the interest of this struggle.

— Arranging the sending of journalist delegations from one member country to another.

In this respect a visit was realized of a Phillippines journalist delegation to the PRC last October. This event is of great significance considering the fact that until now no diplomatic relations exist between the Philippines and the PRC. We hope that this visit of Phillippine journalists to the PRC will bring about a better information and understanding between these two countries and peoples in the future.

— Besides this, the Secretariat has also sent delegations to Africa with no other aim than to establish closer relations with its member organisations and to once more explain the policy and good intentions of the AAJA. These missions may be qualified as to have been of great benefit to the interest of our organisation.

The AAJA was invited and participated actively in the "Maly Youth Week" — held in Bamako July 7th.

— The Secretariat organised the first commemoration of "Afro-Asian Journalist Day" on the first anniversary of our organisation. We are also happy to inform you that we received reports from our member organisations that the "Afro-Asian Journalist Day" has been enthusiastically commemorated in various places in Africa and Asia.

The Secretariat commemorated "African Liberation Day" aimed at giving a better understanding of the struggle in Africa. The Government as well as the Indonesian people have shown a great interest in "African Liberation Day".

— We may also report here that in accordance with the decision of the Gadok Meeting, the Chinese Journalists' Association has been found ready to receive fighting AA journalists, in need of medical care to get all possible facilities in the People' Republic of China. Every member of the AAJA who urgently needs medical care can make use of this establishment.

— The publication of a weekly news bulletin is at its final preparatory stage. The preparations for this purpose mainly involve the appointment of correspondents in various places in Africa and Asia and the technical aspects of the printing of the bulletin. We hope that in the near future, when the technical equipment will be available, the AAJA news bulletin will in due time start publication.

— Also in preparation is the organization of a Journalist Course of the AAJA. A course for training in journalistic work, theoretically and practically, which should arm the students with knowledge about the role and the function of the means of mass communication as an able tool in the struggle of the AA peoples to achieve full independence, as a tool of the revolution in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The draft on the realization of the AAJA Journalist Course is added as a separate supplement.

— In conclusion, I would like to inform you about the preparations being made for the construction of an AAJA building in Djakarta, a building having room for offices, a conference hall and boarding facilities. The Indonesian colleagues are genuinely endeavouring to provide the AAJA with an adequate building. We get wide support with regard to this, starting from individuals feeling sympathetic towards the AAJA up to President Sukarno and the Government of Indonesia. We hope this project to start towards the middle of next year.

At the end of this report, I would like to convey to you a conclusion that we have drawn from our experiences gained during the working period of the Secretariat. It concerns the question of how we can arrange close and regular contact between the Secretariat and its members in the future. The Secretariat is vividly aware that it should be more active and work better to intensify those contacts by way of regular correspondence and the sending of periodical reports. At the same time, however, it should be firmly stressed here, that it is paramount importance that these contacts should be carried out along a double-traffic road. The Secretariat sincerely feels the necessity of a regular contact from the side of its members through letters, reports and articles on the situation in their respective as well as in the neighbouring countries. I think that all of us realize the importance of such close contacts between the Secretariat and its members in the interest of the life and activities of our organisation.

I should finally like to announce on this occasion that the AAJA Secretariat has received an invitation to attend the Steering Committee Meeting of the PAUJ in Algiers as an observer in early December. We think it very important to comply with this invitation of the PAUJ, because this will constitute another good opportunity for the AAJA to emphasize once more its good intentions and serious wish to co-operate as closely as possible with PAUJ, a sister organisation that is very dear to our hearts.

We hope for a big success of this Steering Committee Meeting of the PAUJ, because a strong PAUJ will also form a strong basis for the solidarity of AA journalists !

RESOLUTIONS

On the preparation for the Second AAJC

Having heard the Acting Secretary General, Mr. Joesoef's report and the opinions of the Secretariat members, and having accurately studied the objective conditions for the Second AAJC, guided in this by the instructions of the First AAJC and the decisions of the First and Second AAJA Plenary Meetings, has resolved to hold the Second AAJC shortly after the "Second Bandung Conference" in the first half of 1965 in the capital city of Algiers.

This Meeting noted with pleasure that developments in the world, particularly in Asia-Africa, since the Second Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat in Gadok, Bogor up to now, show progress and victories on the side of the anti-imperialist forces, and regression and defeats on the side of the imperialists and their henchmen.

Not only in Africa and Asia is the situation favourable to the revolutionary peoples and unfavourable to the enemies of the People, but even in the United States as well as in Latin America the struggle against imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, proceeds with great steps.

The "African Summit" and the "Non-Aligned Summit", especially meetings of People's representatives like the Pan African News Agencies Conference and the Asian Economic Seminar, have expressed the resolve of the progressive governments and revolutionary peoples of the two continents to consequently carry on the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the conviction that a half-hearted attitude, let alone one of compromise with the enemy, will only harm and betray our revolutionary cause, that any illusion about imperialist "good will" must be discarded once and for all, and that only an anti-imperialist attitude and resistance can and will bring each of our countries and peoples victory.

Guided by the example of the Algerian People in Africa, the Indo-Chinese peoples in Asia and the Cuban people in Latin America, the peoples of many countries are unwaveringly taking up arms and engaging themselves in a struggle against their colonizers and oppressors.

Hence, in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Venezuela, North Kalimantan and other places, heroic armed resistance is flaring up and everywhere in the world solidarity actions are being organized, manifested in collections for aid in the form of medicines, clothes, food stuffs, money, arms and amunition for the just and courageous struggle.

Suffering blow upon blow all over the world, the imperialists see their prestige steadily desintegrating and are confronted by the unity of the new emerging forces, i.e. the socialist bloc, the countries that have newly achieved or are still struggling for their independence, and the progressive forces in the capitalist countries, the imperialist power, also military speaking, is getting more and more limited.

With the mounting of the national liberation struggle the colonial aggressions unleashed by the imperialists here and there have always met with a storm of resistance and have always ended in a humiliating defeat for the imperialists.

It is the duty of all people to unite, on a national as well as an international scale, in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, free from any illusion of compromising with imperialism, and for national independence, genuine democracy and world peace.

Any attempt at splitting Afro-Asian unity should be fought to the death. The Plenary Meeting of the AAJA hopes and believes that the "Second Bandung Conference" which will be held in Algiers at the beginning of March 1965 will further temper the revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian peoples and will define a common form to reply in unison in the most exact way to the issues which emerged in Afro-Asia since the First Bandung Conference of 1955, as well as stipulate a joint programme on joint tasks for the peoples and governments of our two continents in the years to come.

In a situation and under conditions as those mentioned above, the Plenary Secretariat Meeting of the AAJA, is convinced that the Second AAJ Conference will be carried out on schedule prepared in the best possible way.

The Meeting has learned with pleasure of the readiness of the Algerian colleagues to exert all efforts towards the realisation of the Second AA Journalists Conference and charges the Secretariat of the AAJA with the full responsibility for the holding of the Second AA Journalists Conference and to take the necessary steps to turn the Second AAJC into a success, as well as to assist the Algerian colleagues in the preparation of the Conference. Anything that could reduce the success of the Second AAJC, anything that could abstruct the perfect unity and harmony within the AAJA as well as during the coming Second AAJC, we must prevent together.

The Meeting holds the view that it would be an excellent thing, with the Conference approaching, for the Secretariat to accept applications of new members, journalist organisations in the continents of Africa and Asia that adhere to and carry out the principles of the Bandung Conference and the First AAJC, that are firmly in their stand against imperialism and are ready to develop the solidarity of the journalists and peoples of Afro-Asia.

The Meeting appeals to the entire progressive press and journalist corps throughout Afro-Asia to organize on a grand scale a campaign for the success of the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference.

To this end in order that the Second AAJC will be a real anti-imperialism front the AAJA Secretariat wishes that the representative of Cuba and Latin American Liberation Movements be allowed to follow the work after main conference in Algiers.

Note :

The IIIrd Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat has decided that the Second AAJC will take place in Algiers thirty days after the Second Bandung Conference.

ON THE PAUJ.

Convinced that unity among African journalists tremendously strengthens Afro-Asian journalists' solidarity and is a strong factor in the improvement of journalistic conditions among African journalists and in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism ;

This Plenary Meeting fully supports the Pan African Union of Journalists (PAUJ) in its struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in its efforts to unite all African journalists.

Consequent upon this premise, the Plenary Meeting wishes the oncoming Steering Committee of the PAUJ, to be held in Algiers in December 1964, success and warmly accepts the invitation to send an observer delegation.

ON ARAB JOURNALISTS.

Convinced that the unity among Arab journalists is a great contribution to Afro-Asian Journalists' solidarity and a great factor in the anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist struggle, the Meeting supports the projected Arab journalists conference ; pledges itself to work for still further closer relations with all Arab journalists in their struggle to defeat imperialism, colonialism and zionism and in the improvemen of their journalistic conditions.

ON PERSECUTION OF JOURNALISTS, BANNING OF PAPERS AND PRESS MONOPOLIES.—

Finding great stresses and strains in the newspaper world in this region of AA as a result of imperialistic and colonialistic policies which have further culminated into monopolies and cartels-antithesis of purposeful and progressive journalism, the Meeting is strongly of the opinion that the retrogressive conditions and repressive measures obtaining today in the newspaper industry are not conducive to the healthy growth of journalism.

Therefore vigorously condemns the persecution of journalists in various parts of Afro-Asia manifested especially in the areas still under colonial domination. We take note of the grave conditions under which progressive journalists suffer in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Aden, South Vietnam, Malaya, Singapore, South Korea, etc ;

Condem the banning of progressive papers in Zambabwe, South Africa, South Korea, etc ;

Support the struggle to break up the monopoly cartels controlling various Afro-Asian newspapers and in particular support the Ceylon Journalists' Association in their support of the Ceylon Government to break up the press monopoly obtaining in Ceylon today.

ON THE DETENTION OF THE CHINESE JOURNALISTS BY THE BRAZILIAN AUTHORITIES.

The Secretariat states its complete support of the protests launched by the AAJA and its members against the Brazilian Military Government that has detained 2 Chinese Journalists without any reason. This arbitrary action of the Brazilian Military Government has violently intruded upon the democratic liberty of the journalists to carry out their job, by groundless accusations.

With this action the Brazilian Government has also violated the right of foreign citizens, who obtained legal permission from the Brazilian Government to enter that country.

Relating to the fact above, the Secretariat Meeting reinforces the AAJA statement and calls on the Afro-Asian Journalists to state their solidarity with the detained Chinese journalists by registering the strongest protests against the Brazilian Government.

The Afro-Asian Journalists Association will support every initiative to free these Chinese Journalists from the detention by the Brazilian Government and appeals to the AA Journalists to expose still more the Brazilian Government which is sustained by U.S. imperialism.

IN SUPPORT OF THE COUNTRIES THREATENED BY COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

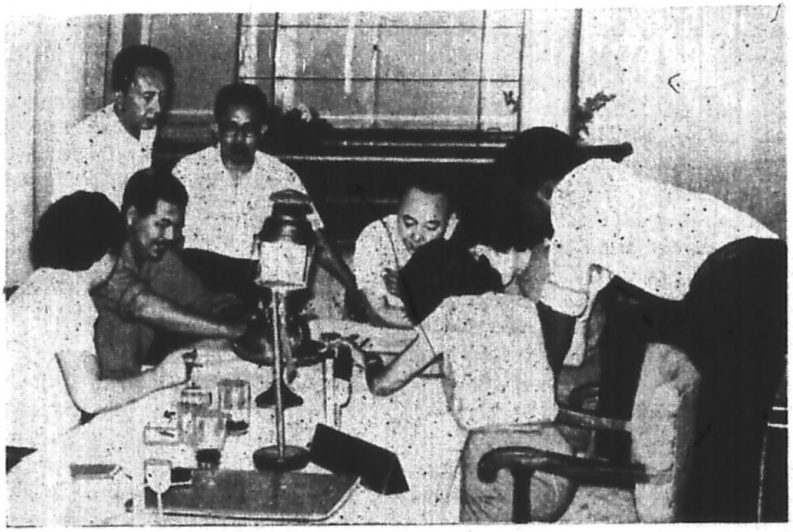
The most profond sympathy is expressed to tht revoluaionary struggle of all Afro-Asian peoples who are menaced by the irresponsible action of the counter-revolutionaries who within the country are backed and financed by the international reactionary forces.

The Meeting expresses its firm and constant support to the peoples of Algeria, Mali, Tanzania, the Congo (Brazzaville), Indonesia, who have mobilized themselves into a united patriotic front to face the criminal actions of the counter-revolutionaries and to eliminate imperialism and colonialism.

Strongly opposes the subversive actions directed against these countries and their peoples and denounces most energetically those internal traitors who have sold themselves — body and soul — to the international monopolies.

Invites all member-organizations, all Afro-Asian journalists to support vigorously the heroic efforts of these countries in favour of their national liberty, economic independence and social and cultural progress, culminating in the total destruction of the reactionaries the counter — revolutionaries and the imperialists.

A committee discussion during the sessions.



ON THE CONGO.

The Third Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat rises in indignation against the barbaric crimes of the US and Belgian imperialists in the Congo, in particular that of their recent military aggression against the Congolese people and the revolutionary government of Stanleyville.

The AA journalists denounces this new crime which forms a sad addition to the long list of monstrosities to which our brothers of the Congo Republic have fallen victim, and severely condemns all responsible Congolese who are involved in this detestable plot against the national independence of this country.

The Secretariat of the AAJA, while denouncing the traitor Tshombe all of whose actions daily show that he is irremediably lost for Africa, singles out the heavy and crushing responsibility of Mr. Joseph Kasavubu whose incriminating and approving silence legalizes the most disgraceful of imperialist aggressions against a people that has resolutely risen for their freedom and dignity.

The Secretariat expresses to the heroic Congolese people its active solidarity and firm support, and solemnly pledges to direct all its efforts to convince world opinion to give a greater and more concrete support to the patriotic struggle of the Congo.

The AAJA Secretariat calls on all African States to unreservedly, openly and actively support the popular government of Stanleyville.

ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND PORTUGUESE GUINEA.

The third Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat, recognizes that as a result of the cruel and arbitrary exploitation by Portuguese colonialism, there is no other way left for the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea but to take up arms in order to oust the colonialists from their sacred soil and to install their respective national independence.

The AAJA Secretariat realizes how hard the struggle is that must be waged by the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea, because they are not merely facing the Portuguese colonialists, but also the imperialist bulwark headed by US imperialism which uses the aggressive military NATO bloc.

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting sincerely gives its unrestricted support and sympathy towards the just struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea, and appeals to all the progressive journalists throughout the world to do everything possible to mobilize solidarity actions of the people the whole world.

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting wishes most strongly to put all the African States on guard against any arrangement or agreement, no matter what their nature, with the racialist and facist authorities of South Africa, and Portugal, concerning those African countries, which struggle to break the imperialists' chains and regain their own national identities, and urges the independent States of Afro-Asia to sever all diplomatic and other relations with South Africa and Portugal.

ON SOUTH AFRICA.

The AAJA Secretariat notes with apprehension the increased oppression and persecution policies of the White Supremacists in South Africa, which is fully supported and sided by the imperialists, especially US, British and West German.

The Secretariat Meeting further notes that in callous opposition to the freedom demands of the South African people, the White Supremacists are daily executing, persecuting, banning and jailing freedom fighters in South Africa.

The Secretariat therefore vigorously condemns these barbaric measures of the White Supremacists in South Africa, resolutely supports the resolve of the African people of South Africa to make armed violence their main method of struggle, calls on the Afro-Asia states to increase their opposition to the White Supremacists in all fields, condemns those countries in the first place Britain and USA who still continue to trade and maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa, notes with concern the statement of the UNO Secretary General U Thant opposing the exclusion of South Africa from UNO bodies, and restates its unconditional support to the just struggle of the people of South Africa and appeals to all the progressive journalists to use their pens to still further expose the White Supremacists and support the African people's struggle against White Supremacy and monopoly capital led by Britain and the USA.

ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA, BASUTOLAND, SWAZILAND AND BECHUANALAND.

The third Plenary Meeting strongly condemns the recial discriminatory and fascist actions of the Ian Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia.

The Secretariat Meeting demands the immediate implementation of democracy in Southern Rhodesia, in particular supports the national liberation movements' demand for one man one vote.

In view of the independence which will be shortly obtained by Basutoland, the Meeting expresses its congratulations and solidarity to the freedom fighters.

To the freedom fighters in Swaziland and Bechuanaland the Meeting extends its solidarity, demands the immediate granting of independence for these territories and urges its members to more intensify their assistance.

ON FOREIGN MILITARY BASES

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to continue their position and actions of exploitation and domination have established military bases in several countries and areas of the world, mainly in Afro-Asian areas, among them Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, Guam, Thailand, South Korea, Christmas, Andaman, Nicobar, South Vietnam, Malaya, Singapore, the Congo and South Africa. —

Beside that they are sending their fleets to intimidate the countries opposing their domination, like the US 7th Fleet which was sent to the Afro-Asian Ocean and to the Tonkin Gulf last September, and another part of the US Fleet to the Atlantic Ocean in African and Latin American regions.

All this clearly shows that they wish to keep the Afro-Asian countries, constituting the "heart" of their domination in their power by every way and means, and at the same time indicates the heightened level of the struggle between the anti-imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist nations on one side and the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist countries with their satellites on the other.

It is the opinion of the Meeting that the only way warranted to oppose them with success is that of fostering the morale of the struggle to become ever stronger and more resistent, and of expanding and intensifying the solidarity among countries and nations throughout the world, that are really anti-imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist.

The Secretariat of the AAJA vigorously denounces and condemns the measures of certain responsible persons in maintaining foreign bases on the territory of their countries contrary to the will of the people.

The Secretariat Meeting appeals to the progressive press and journalists all over the world, especially in Afro-Asia, to mobilize world opinion into eliminating all foreign military bases everywhere in the world.

ON THE UNO.

As an international body, the UNO with its Security Council is structurally not in accordance anymore with the present situation obtaining in the world today. As a result, it does not and it cannot carry out its main function of preserving world peace and guaranteeing the right of self-determination as manifested in its activities inter-alia in the Congo and its attitude towards the Malaysian issue, South Africa's racialist policies, etc.

The ill-balanced structure of the UNO and the Security Council even alter the essence of these two international bodies, namely from a body which task it is to strengthen co-operation and friendship among all nations, it has become an instrument to legalize the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist efforts for the sake of self-preservation, to continue their exploitation and domination as a result of which the faith of the anti-imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist nations, firstly the Afro-Asian nations, in matters pertaining to the question of national independence, as the highest ideal of the AA nations, is diminishing daily.

In view of the above-mentioned the third Plenary Meeting claims that the UNO and the Security Council be retooled in accordance with the actual balance of power in the world today.

In this regard the Secretariat Meeting once more reiterates the necessity of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the UNO by strongly opposing the endeavours to create "two Chinas" by whatever means possible.

ON THE IMPERIALIST CHARACTER OF ISRAEL AND ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PALESTINE PEOPLE.

The third AAJA Secretariat Meeting, considers the existence of Israel, an artificial creation of imperialist and international capitalism, the strengthening of its military potential mainly formed by greater and greater numbers of arms, furnished by U.S. monopolists to serve Zionism, a danger to the Arab countries and their people, a danger to peace in the Middle East and the world.

The AAJA Secretariat holds that Israel, spearhead of imperialism in the Middle East, not only conducts its subversion against the Arab countries and their people, but also favours the restoration of colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist powers, by its incursions into Africa. The presence of Israeli mercenaries among the criminal and barbaric hords of the traitor Tshombe is irrefutable proof, that Israel is nothing but an imperialist agent.

The AAJA Secretariat congratulates the Arab army and people in Syria, who have repeatedly succeeded to victoriously rebut the acts of Israeli aggression against their territory. It condemns the recent napalm bombardments carried out by Israeli aircrafts which have caused a great number of victims among civilians.

The imperialists, to justify in their opinion their aid to Israel do not hesitate to falsify history by making the ecumenical council in the Vatican adopt the formula, that "Christ had not been killed by the Jews in Palestine".

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting considers that :

1. Israel, product of and supported by imperialism must disappear ;
2. The Arab people in Palestine unjustly expelled from their territory and reduced to the state of permanent refugees, living in concentration camps specially organized by the imperialists must be restored to their rights and get their usurped fatherland, back ;
3. The Secretariat urges the journalists in the entire world to unfailingly support the struggle of the Arab Palestine people for the liberation of their country and requests them to give concrete evidence of their solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Front, that is leading this struggle.

DISSOLVE THE SOUTH ARABIA FEDERATION, WITHDRAW BRITISH TROOPS FROM ADEN AND SOUTH ARABIA AND ALLOW THE PEOPLES OF ADEN AND SOUTH ARABIA THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

The British imperialists, in their efforts to maintain their interests in South Arabia, have forced the formation of the neo-colonialist Federation of South Arabia. The resistance of the people in Aden and South Arabia whose political and elementary democratic rights had been violated, was cruelly suppressed. Faced with such atrocities, the people of Aden and South Arabia had no other choice than to take up arms and launch a revolutionary struggle against the British neo-colonialists and their lackeys of the puppet Federation of South Arabia. Confronted with this revolutionary armed resistance, the British imperialists more and more take to wild air raiding towns and villages with their innocent inhabitants. The Solidarity of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist peoples has stimulated the people of Aden and South Arabia not to retreat one single step, before the British imperialists have been driven out of the South Arabian penisula and the project of the Puppet Federation of South Arabia has been smashed.

To this effect, the third Plenary Meeting after thorough considerations is of the opinion that to stop the brutal massacre against the people of Aden and South Arabia by the British neo-colonialists and for the sake of upholding the 10 Bandung principles and the United Nations Organization principles on the right to self-determination of the peoples, the following measures should be taken :

Firstly : Dissolve the puppet Federation of South Arabia, a product of British neo-colonialism.

Secondly : Withdraw all British troops from Aden and South Arabia.

Thirdly : Allow the peoples of Aden and South Arabia the right to self-determination in conformity with the 10 principles of Bandung and UNO principles.

Fourthly : Reinforce the solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples with the people of Aden and South Arabia in their struggle for freedom and progress and to sweep neo-colonialism out of the South Arabian peninsula.

IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINT "MALAYSIA".

The third Plenary Meeting vehemently denounces the British neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia" that has the active assistance and support of the US imperialists which is evident from the Johnson-Tungku joint statement, and of late also from grand scale military aid to the Kuala Lumpur regime. "Malaysia" as now constituted, is a criminal enterprise against the independence and sovereignty of the countries in South East Asia, particularly Indonesia, and clearly shows that the imperialists, by using new methods, seek to maintain their vested political and economic interests in the at present turbulent region of South East Asia and thereby it further becomes obvious that "Malaysia" is not only threatening peace and security in South East Asia, but in all of Afro-Asia.

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting, therefore, states its full support of the struggle of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan for national independence and expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the people and government of Indonesia against neo-colonialist project.

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting urges the progressive journalists in the entire world, especially those of Afro-Asia, to use their pens in order to expose the British and American imperialists and to support the struggle of the peoples of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan.

ON SOLIDARITY WITH CAMBODIA

The third Plenary Meeting salutes the exemplary courage of the Government and People of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in resisting the undeclared aggressive war waged against them by U.S. imperialists in collaboration with their puppet regime in South Vietnam in the form of territory-violations and terror against the Cambodian people.

The U.S. imperialists may invent whatever "pretexts" they like to expand their aggression, but the patriotic government and people of Cambodia will not permit their dignity to be infringed upon by the aggressive provocations of U.S. imperialism.

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting appeals to all progressive journalists in the world to condem and call a halt to further U.S. aggression against Cambodia.

Furtheron the AAJA Secretariat Meeting fully supports the proposal of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian Head of State to convene a Meeting of the 14 countries, signatories of the Geneva Agreement, in order to guarantee the neutrality of Cambodia, and to hold deliberations among the patriotic movements in Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

ON LAOS — CARRY OUT THE GENEVA AGREEMENT OF 1962 ON LAOS.

The flagrant US imperialist intervention in the domestic problems of Laos which is in absolute contradiction to the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, is more and more jeopardizing the national unity that had since then exissted there. Under pressure of the US imperialists the negotiations of the three princes which have already started in Paris, threaten to reach an impasse halfway, besides the fact, that the US imperialists are steadily intensifing their attacks in the liberated zone of Laos which is under the authority of the forces of the Pathet Lao. The US imperialists with their Seato bloc are always trying to obstruct the implementation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos by sending their forces to Laos which means violation of the Laotian sovereignty, and which is causing the break-up of the national coalition government under Prince Souvanna Phouma.

In order to prevent the situation in Laos from becoming worse, and to ensure political stability and peace in that country, the third Plenary Meeting after profound consideration, has reached the conclusion that measures should be taken immediately on the Laos question, namely :

One : Stop all US imperialist intervention in Laos and respect Laotion sovereignty ;

Two : Withdraw all US and SEATO forces that have infiltrated into the Laotian territory ;

Three : Urge the three princes of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prince Boun Oum and Prince Souphanouvong to continue their negotiations as a preparation for the holding of a conference of the 14 countries, signatories of the Geneva Agreement of 1962 on Laos, aiming at an integral and definite solution of the Laos question.

Four : Urge all Afro-Asian people to support the just struggle of the people of Laos for national sovereignty and national unity, and against US imperialist intervention. —

ON THE CHINESE ATOMIC BOMB

The third Plenary Meeting in full support of the people who struggle for the total destruction of the atomic and thermo-nuclear arms, stresses the fact that the explosion of the first atomic bomb of the People's Republic of China is an important event in the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the AA peoples which they should salute not only as a great victory of the PRC, but as a great victory of the AA peoples.

Therefore, we consider that this successful feat has rendered a decisive blow to the nuclear blackmail the US imperialists are carrying out.

In giving our full support to the proposal of the Chinese government, to convene a new Summit Conference in which all countries of the world will participate in order to discuss the total prohibition and complete destruction of atomic and thermonuclear arms, the third Plenary Meeting urges all AA journalists to launch and to intensify a vigorous campaign on a world scale for the total destruction of arms and arms' stocks of already existing atomic and thermonuclear arms.

The secretaries at Bogor with Mme Hartini Sukarno.

ON SOUTH-VIETNAM.

The AAJA Secretariat, has followed diligently and full of sympathy the just and relentless struggle of the people of South Vietnam under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to crush US imperialism and its puppets for the liberation of South-Vietnam.

The great successes achieved by the South Vietnamese people, recently marked by the destruction of the Bien Hoa air-base, one of the main bases of US imperialist aggression against the South Vietnamese people once more showed that imperialism will be wiped out if it is opposed by the armed People's Forces.

Although the US imperialists nowadays are frenziedly strengthening their choice-troops continously with all kinds of war material, nevertheless the patriotic fighting spirit of the people of South Vietnam does not waver for a fraction of an inch, on the contrary it is steeled thereby.

The Secretariat appeals to every progressive journalist in the world and in particular to the Afro-Asian journalist, to use his pen more extensively in mobilizing world opinion to help the Vietnamese people in their just struggle to liberate their country, to obtain democracy and for world peace.

Furthermore the Meeting appeals to progressive journalist organisations throughout the world, that they do their utmost to foster solidarity with the people of South Vietnam in order to sweep US imperialism and its henchmen from South Vietnam.

ON SOLIDARITY WITH DRV.

The AAJA Secretariat, has paid great and sincere attention to the heroic effort the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are making under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh in order to establish socialism in their country, and to the vigorous struggle they are waging for the reunification of Vietnam.

The successes achieved by the DRV, particularly of late in dealing with the brutal attacks of US imperialism, which intends to extend its aggressive war to the DRV has proved for the umpteenth time the competence of the People's force that always relies on itself, as well as the disintegration of the imperialist force that gets no support from the people.

The AAJA Secretariat Meeting is of the opinion that an extention of the aggressive war of US imperialism unto the DRV not only forms a serious violation of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-china but at the same time also threatens peace in South East Asia and the world.

There is no other way left to this end except to concentrate all efforts at thwarting all criminal attempts of the US imperialists to extend their aggressive war over the borders of the DRV.

Therefore the AAJA Secretariat appeals to every progressive journalist in the world to increase multifold the solidarity with the DRV, for the successful struggle of the DRV in building socialism in their country, for the reunification of Vietnam and for world peace.

ON KASHMIR.

This third Meeting of the Secretariat is deeply concerned over the tensions mounted dangerously over the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan as a result of Indian Government's unreasonable and defiant attitude in not granting the 5 million people of Kashmir their right of selfdetermination as envisaged in the resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan to which India also is a party.

This Meeting is deeply pained to observe that in order to coerce Pakistan into giving up the struggle for the liberation of the 5 million people of Kashmir, India has resorted to border incidents at an ever increasing rate and the continuous eviction of Muslims from India. This situation, if allowed to go unchecked, might result in a total conflagration and engulf not only Asia but the whole world in a deadly war.

This Meeting is trongly of the opinion that by denying the people of Kashmir the right of self-determination, India has not only flouted the resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan but it has also acted in complete defiance of the principles of International Justice and the repudiation of its own solemn pledges and international commitments and in utter disregard to the Bandung principles and the Djakarta Declaration.

This Meeting, therefore, calls upon the parties concerned for an early resolution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir for re-establishing peace upon which will depend the healthy growth and development of the area.

ON THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE.

The AAJA Secretariat expresses its admiration and its respect for the struggle of the Japanese people against US imperialist intervention, subversion and aggression in their country. After the successful holding of the Tenth World Conference Against A — H Bombs, we note a great upsurge in the Japanese people's struggle against the "call" by US nuclear submarines to Japanese ports.

The struggle of the Japanese people is clearly waged against US domination in their country, and against Japanese monopoly capitalists, collaborating with the US imperialists.

The AAJA wishes to pay its highest tribute to the Japanese people's struggle and urges all progressive journalists in the world, fist of all the fighting journalists of Afro-Asia, to support the struggle of the Japanese people as much as they can and assure the Japanese journalists who are taking part in this great struggle of their full solidarity.

ON SOUTH KOREA.

Since the signing of the armistice in Korea, on July 27, 1953 up to this day US imperialists have provoked to resume their aggressive battle in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. South Korea, separated from the DPR of Korea, has suffered ever after under the yoke of US imperialists and their puppets, first the clique of Syngman Rhee followed by that of Pak Chung Hi. The economic situation in South Korea has deteriorated, there-by inevitably burdening the People's existence. Unemployment is reigning. Moreover, the human and the most elementary political and democratic rights of the South Korean people are trampled on by the US imperialist and their stooges. The people's wish for reunification with their compatriots from the Korean PRP is frustrated, because the US imperialists are intending to turn South Korea into a permanent US colony which will serve as a link in the chain of US imperialist bastions in the Far East and in Asia in general.

The US troops are a pain in the neck of the South Korea people, as they are thwarting the struggle of this people, who wish to be reunited with the Korean DPR. The US troops have also spoilt the social life of the people, whom they want to use as guineapigs for their nuclear and microbic warfare.

Because of the above-stated facts, the third Plenary Secretariat Meeting having closely studied this question, expresses its sincere estimation to the South Korean journalists who are courageously struggling against the oppression of their people, in conformity with the journalist profession. In order to put an end to the unjust situation of the South Korean people, and to respect the principle of selfdetermination, it is necessary to take the following measures :

One : Withdraw all US imperialist troops from South Korean territory.

Two : The Korean problem can only be solved by the Korean people themselves and free from any foreign intervention.

Three : Consolidate Afro-Asian Solidarity for the sake of the South Korean people in their endeavour to become reunited with Korean Democratic People's Republic and gain independence, free from foreign intervention.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK AMERICANS FORMS PART OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM.—

The Black Americans are suffering an acute oppression by Yankee monopoly capitalists and imperialists.

Of late the struggle of the Black Americans has attained new successes and their fighting unity is becoming stronger.

On the other hand the oppression by the imperialists and ruling class in the United States is taking on ever more cruel forms.

The progressive peoples throughout the world express their sympathy with the struggle of the Black Americans and assure them of their solidarity in the struggle they are waging against racial discrimination and for equal rights. This international support has forced the Johnson administration to issue regulations that are supposed to defend the Black Americans, but which actually worsen the oppression they are suffering under.

In order to put a halt to racial discrimination and have the principle of equal rights implemented. The Third Plenary Meeting of the AAJA Secretariat, expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the Black Americans and calls on all journalists to exert all efforts to help this struggle and expose incressantly the American imperialists and racialists.

ON CUBA — STOP US PROVOCATION AND ECONOMIC BLOCKADE RETURN GUANTANAMO TO CUBA.

The US imperialists have never given up their ambition to liquidate the Cuban Revolution. Besides launching provocations against Cuban territory, continuing their economic blockade of Cuba and their occupation of Guantanamo, the US imperialists do not cease to train counter-revolutionary opportunists and to establish counter-revolutionary bases for the encircling of Cuba.

In view of this US imperialist adventurism with regard to the Cuban Revolution, the third Plenary Meeting, after ample considerations, deems it necessary that immediate steps are taken to defend the territorial sovereignty of Cuba against the US imperialists as acknowledged by the United Nations Organization Charter and by the 10 Principles of Bandung, namely :

One : Stop all US imperialist adventurism with regard to Cuba.

Two : Lift the US imperialist economic blockade of Cuba.

Three : Withdraw the US troops from Guantanamo and restore this base to Cuba whom it legitimately belongs to.

Four : Mobilize all AAA peoples in ensuring maximum support to the struggle of the Cuban people to safeguard the Cuban Revolution which holds high the banner of the revolutions in Latin America.

RESTORE DEMOCRACY RELEASE THE VENEZUELAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Having faced the iron hand of the Betancourt regime, and now finding themselves under the Raul Leoni regime, the People of Venezuela are forced to take up arms to free themselves from the grip of the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys in Venezuela that has borne down on them for three years.

This road has been taken after realising that all possible roads had been closed due to the absence of the most elementary democratic and political rights. 1500 Venezuelan patriots are at this moment languishing in the jails of Venezuela. Yankee imperialism is more and more tightening its grip on Venezuela because from this country it gets 2/3 of all its profits in Latin America.

The efforts towards appeasement within the country from the Leoni regime will be meaningless as long as it remains subservient to Yankee imperialism.

Facing this situation, the third Plenary AAJA Secretariat Meeting in Bandung after thorough considerations is of the opinion that in order to achieve genuine peace in Venezuela the following actions should be taken :

Firstly :

To restore the democratic and political rights of the Venezuelan people.

Secondly :

To expel the US military mission and to free Venezuela from its dependency on US imperialism.

Thirdly :

To release all the political prisoners.

Fourthly :

To recognize the National Liberation Front Venezuela as the only party to negotiate with in achieving peace within the country.

Fifthly :

To call on all the AAA Peoples to express the greatest possible solidarity with the armed struggle of the Venezuelan people under the leadership of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front against the US imperialists and their lackeys until they have been eliminated from the Venezuela soil.

ON THE SECOND GANEFO

The third Plenary Meeting is of the opinion that the First Ganefo held in Djakarta November 1963 is an implementation of the correct stand that the culture (including sport) of a nation cannot be separated from its politics. This correct stand has been strengthened as a consequence of the efforts of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and their agents, to thwart the First Ganefo through the IOC and certain other elements. They repeated this also during the Olympic Games October 1964 in Tokyo.

The Secretariat Meeting is of the opinion that the organization of the First Ganefo is merely a manifestation of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the cultural field, and that the only way open to the progressive countries and nations in the world, especially the Afro-Asian countries and nations, is to oppose with the spirit of solidarity in the revolution, the IOC with regard to its present day form, structure and essence, that is to say as an international body which defends the interests of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in the cultural field.

The Secretariat Meeting considers that, because the Ganefo forms a powerful weapon in the struggle in the cultural field, in order to guarantee maximum results in the struggle, the foremost task of the progressive countries and nations, particularly the Afro-Asian countries and nations, is to make the Second Ganefo to be held in Cairo in 1967 a maximum success.

Bearing the above mentioned in mind, the Secretariat Meeting urges the whole progressive press and all its journalists in the entire world, particularly in Afro-Asia, to fight more militantly still towards maximum success for the Second Ganefo, true to the slogan that steels the fighting morale :

"Onward, no Retreat"

ON THE SECOND AA CONFERENCE

The Secretariat Meeting is of the opinion that the anti-imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist struggle has reached such a stage that it is deemend necessary to hold the Second AA Conference with the shortest possible delay.

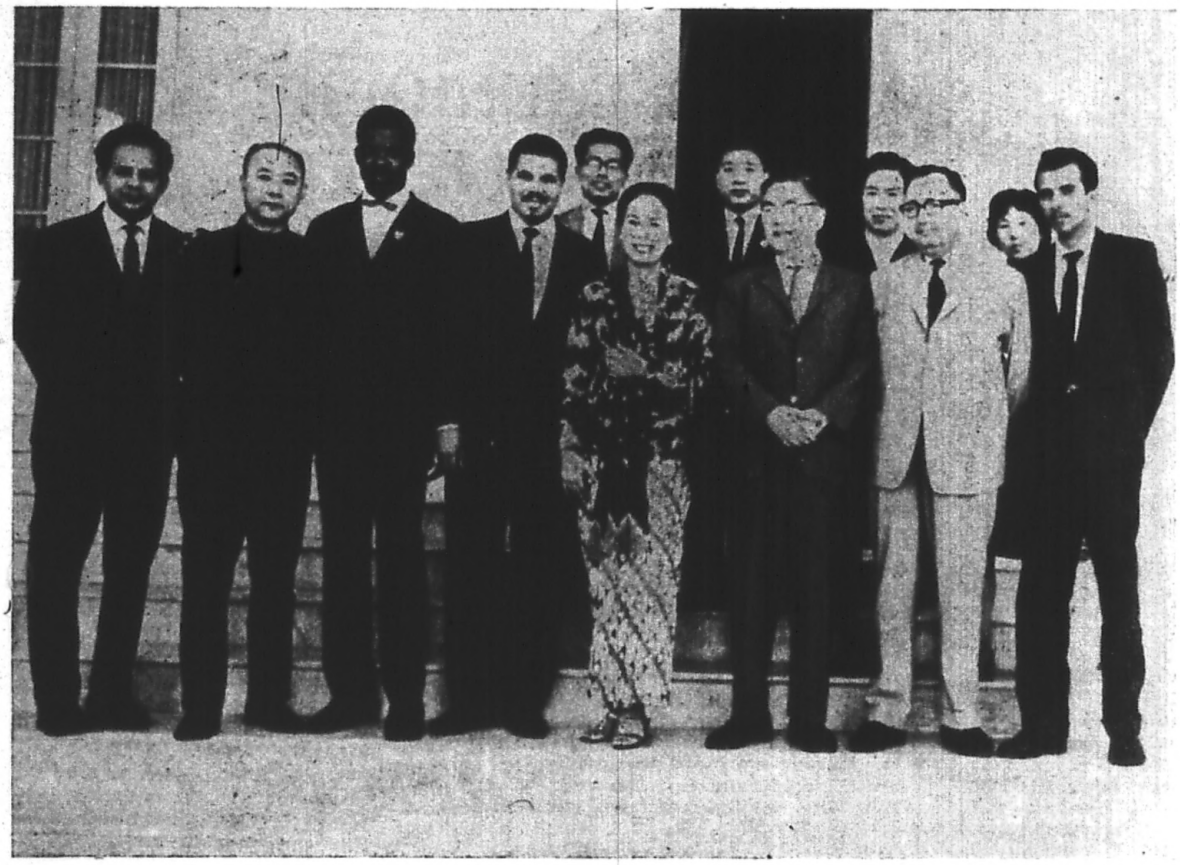
If the first AA Conference in April 1955 in Bandung was essentially the concrete result of the endeavours to consolidate the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist forces in the AA countries in the joint struggle to achieve full national independence and to establish world peace, with the emergence of new countries in Afro-Asia after the first AA Conference, the Second AA Conference naturally will be able to conjoin a much mightier force forming a prerequisite for the success of the struggle to check and defeat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism which are trying by all means to maintain everywhere in the world their exploitation and domination.

The Secretariat Meeting holds, that to steer clear of the stratagems of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, their allies and their lackeys, aimed at failing or at least reducing the significance and the fighting force of the Second AA conference, therefore the second AA Conference must remain steadfast and true to the stipulations that have been adopted as decisions by the First AA Conference in 1955. in Bandung as a secure base on which to continue the joint struggle.

With regard to this, the Secretariat Meeting is of the opinion that the decision adopted by the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Cairo in September 1964 that there can be no interval in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is a very correct and appropriate one in conformity with the decisions of the First AA Conference in 1955 in Bandung.

Considering the above-mentioned facts, and in order to avoid that the spirit of the AA people's struggle will "dilute", the Secretariat Meeting appeals to all AA people's leaders not to postpone the Second AA Conference and to keep to all decisions of the MMAA in Djakarta, in April 1964.

The AAJA Secretariat calls on all its members to devote from this moment on their fighting power towards making the Second AA Conference, based on a maximum of Bandung spirit, a success.



Meeting Madame Hartini Sukarno after the sessions.

Some important decisions adopted by the Third Secretariat Meeting of the AAJA in Bandung

The Third AAJA Secretariat Meeting in Bandung which took place in an atmosphere of complete AA solidarity has discussed various problems connected with organisational tasks, interalia a working programme to be carried out by the Secretariat together with its member organisations. The programme issued is a very realistic one, not a grand plan that has the mere aim to remain on paper. The Meeting for instance has decided to improve the "Afro-Asian Journalist" magazine. Improvement here is meant to be made in its widest sense, as among others raise still more the fighting quality of the journal's contents, take more care of the typography as well as of a wider distribution of the magazine. This applies to the English as well the French edition. The Secretariat notes with pleasure that the AAJA magazine has been welcomed in all parts of Africa and Asia, particularly among the freedom fighters. The Meeting has also decided to publish a newsreport, which will appear two or more times a month; to continue the exchanging of visits of journalists of one member country to another, to render aid to fighting journalists who have become victims of their work in fighting imperialism. It was also decided that efforts will be exerted to publish books of an anti-imperialist character, written by AAJA members who are not in the circumstances or being hampered in publishing their works themselves. The Meeting also discussed the question of the training of journalists. By this training is understood first and foremost forming journalists that are capable of dedicating themselves to the interests of the struggle of the AA people, not to train intellectual journalists wh,o merely know to produce newsitems. Three ways will be open in tackling this problem. Firstly, it will be left to those member countries which are in the position to do so, to start a short journalist course, the Secretariat acting as a medium to extend possibilities to candidates in Africa and Asia, who want to apply for this training, while the Secretariat will also define the principles on which such a course is to be carried out. The second way is the planning of a journalist school fully charged to the Secretariat, for the period of at least one year. The third possibility is to endeavour the granting of scholarships for candidates from Africa and Asia to study at already existing faculties of journalism in membercountries of the AAJA.

The Secretariat has also thought about health care for its members. Facilities in this regard are now aveilable to AA journalists, naturally priority will be given to fighting journalists, who are in urgent need of medical treatment. The Secretariat should be contacted first by the party concerned in order to know the conditions.

Futher on, in accordance to the rule prevailing in every organisation, the AAJA too, would like to suggest to all its members to pay their subscription fees. A big, however very earnest, project — the construction of the building for the Headquarters of the AAJA will be undertaken in Djakarta.

These are some of the decisions adopted by the Third Secretariat Meeting in Bandung that we are able to publish in this issue. All this, naturally need persistent efforts from all of us, meaning the Secretariat together with all its member organisations throughout Africa and Asia.

Document - Report II

COMMUNIQUE- NON-ALLIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

— a Summary

The second conference of heads of state or governments of the following non-aligned countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Republic of Mauritania, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia was held in Cairo from 5 October to 10 October 1964.

The following countries:

Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad, and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela were represented by observers.

The conference undertook an analysis of the international situation with a view to making an effective contribution to the solution of the major problems which are of concern to mankind in view of their effects on peace and security in the world.

This situation shows that the forces of imperialism are still powerful, that they do not hesitate to resort to the use of force to defend their interests and maintain their privileges.

This policy, if not firmly resisted by the forces of freedom and peace, is likely to jeopardise the improvement in the international situation and the lessening of tension which has occured, and to constitute a threat to world peace.

The heads of states or governments have arrived in their deliberations at a common understanding of the various problems which the world is now faced with and a common approach to them. Reaffirming the basic principles of the declaration of Belgrade, they express their agreement upon the following points:

Concerted action for the Liberation of the countries still dependent, elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism.

The heads of state or government of the non-aligned countries declare that lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to freedom, independence and self-determination. Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security. The participants in the conference deplore that the declaration of the United Nations on the granting of independence to colonial countries and people has not been implemented everywhere and call for the unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism now.

At present a particular cause of concern is the military or other assistance extended to certain countries to enable them to perpetuate by force colonialist and neo-colonialist situations which are contrary to the spirit of the charter of the United Nations.

The exploitation by colonialist forces of the difficulties and problems of recently liberated or developing countries, interference in the internal affairs of these states, and colonialist attempts to maintain unequal relationships, particularly in the economic fields, constitute serious dangers to these young countries.

Imperialism uses many devices to impose its will on independent nations. Racial discrimination, economic pressures, interference, subversion and the threat of force and neo-colonialist devices against which the newly independent nations have to defend themselves. The conference condems all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the world.

Deeply concerned at the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Congo, the participants:

Appeal to the Congolese government and to all combatants to cease hostilities immediately and to seek, with the help of the Organisation of African Unity, a solution permitting of national reconciliation and the restoration of order and peace.

Urgently appeal to all foreign powers at present interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly those engaged in military intervention in that country, to cease such interference.

Call upon the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to discontinue the recruitment of mercenaries immediately and to expel all mercenaries, of whatever origin who are already in the Congo, in order to facilitate an African solution.

The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. Colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full execise of their right to self-determination and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations.

The participants in the conference undertake to work unremittingly to eradicate all vestiges of colonialism and to combine all their efforts to render all necessary aid and support whether moral or otherwise. The participating countries recognize the nationalist movements of the peoples which are struggling to free themselves from colonial domination as being authentic representatives of the colonial peoples.

The conference condemns the government of Portugal for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The conference urge the participating countries to afford all necessary material support — financial and military — to the freedom fighters in the territories under Portuguese colonial rule, and calls upon all participating states to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the government of Portugal and to take effective measures to suspend all trade and economic relations with Portugal.

The participating countries urge all states not to recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia if proclaimed under the rule of the racist minority, and instead to give favourable consideration to according recognition to an African nationalist government in exile, should such a government be set up.

It urges all states to refrain from supplying in any manner or form any arms or military equipment or petroleum products to South Africa.

The conference recommends that the United Nations should guarantee the territorial integrity of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland and should take measures for their speedy accession to independence and for the subsequent safeguarding of their sovereignty.

The participants in the conference call upon the French government to take the necessary steps to enable french Somaliland to become free and independent.

The conference condemns the imperialistic policy pursued in the Middle East and, decides to:

(1) Endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab People of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination.

(2) Declare their full support to the Arab People of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism.

The conference condems the continued refusal of the United Kingdom Government to implement the United Nations resolutions on Aden and the protectorates and calling for the liquidation of the British military base in Aden.

The countries participating in the conference condemn the continued armed action waged British colonialism against the people of Oman who are fighting to attain their freedom.

The conference condemns the manifestations of colonialism and neocolonialism in Latin America, the conference deplores the delay in granting full independence to British Guiana and requests the United Kingdom to grant independence speedily to that country. It notes with regret that Martinique, Guadaloupe, and other Caribbean islands are still not self-governing. It draws attention of the ad hoc decolonization commision of the United Nations to the case of Puerto Rico.

Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and condemnation of the use of force against the excercise of this right:

The conference solemnly reaffirms the right of peoples to self-determination and to make their own destiny.

The conference noted that this right is still violated or its exercise denied which results in a continued increase of tension and the extension of the sources of war in many regions of the world.

It condemns the use of force and all forms of intimidation interference and intervention which are aimed at prevention of the exercise of this right.

Racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid: All governments still persisting in the practice of racial discrimination should be completely ostracized until they have abandoned their unjust and inhuman policies. In particular the governments and peoples represented at this conference have decided no longer to tolerate the presence of the Republic of South Africa in the community of Nations. The inhuman racial policies of South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security. All countries interested in peace must therefore do everything in their power to ensure that liberty and fundamental freedoms are secured to the people of South Africa.

The conference therefore:

(a) Calls upon all states to boycott all South African goods and to refrain from exporting goods, especially arms, ammunitions oil and minerals to South Africa.

(b) Calls upon all states which have not yet done so to break off diplomatic, consular and other relations with South Africa.

(c) Requests the governments represented at this conference to prohibit aircraft and vessels proceeding to or from South Africa from flying over their territory or using their airports or ports, and to discontinue all road or railway traffic with that country.

Peaceful coexistence and the codification of its principles by the United Nations:

Reaffirming their deep conviction that, in present circumstances, mankind must regard peaceful coexistence as the only way to strengthen world peace. Which must be based on freedom, equality and justice between peoples within a new framework of peaceful and harmonious relations between the states and nations of the world.

Considering the fact that the princple of peaceful coexistence is based on the right of all peoples to be free and to choose their own political, economic and social systems according to their own national identity and their ideals, and is opposed to any form of foreign dominations.

Convinced also that peaceful coexistence cannot be fully achieved throughout the world without the abolition of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The heads of states or government solemnly proclaim the following fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence:

1. The right to complete independence, which is an inalienable right, must be recognized immediately and unconditionally as pertaining to all peoples.

2. The right to self-determination, which is an inalienable right, must be recognized as pertaining to all peoples.

3. Peaceful coexistence between states with differing social and political systems is both possible and necessary.

4. The sovereignty of states must must be recognized and respected.

5. States must abstain from all use of threat or force directed against the territorial integrity and political independence of other states — a situation brought about by the threat or use of force shall not be recognized, and in particular the established frontiers of states shall be inviolable.

6. All states shall respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the human person and the equality of all Nations and races.

7. All international conflicts must be settled by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual understanding and on the basis of equality and sovereignty.

8. All states must cooperate with a view to accelerating economic development in the world, and particularly in the developing countries.

9. States shall meet their international obligations in good faith in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

Respect for the sovereignty of states and their territorial integrity: problems of divided nations.

1. The conference of heads of state or government proclaims its full adherence to the fundamental principle of international relations, in accordance with which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, great and small, are inviolable and must be respected.

2. The countries participating in the conference, reaffirm their determination to oppose by every means in their power any attempt to compromise their sovereignty or violate their territorial integrity, they pledge themselves to respect frontiers as they existed when the states gained independence parts of territories taken away by occupying powers and converted into autonomous bases for their own benefit at the time of independence must be given back to the country concerned.

3. The conference solemnly reaffirms the right of all peoples to adopt the form of government they consider best suited to their development.

4. The conference considers that one of the causes of international tension lies in the problem of divided nations. It expresses its entire sympathy with the peoples of such countries and uphols their desire to achieve unity. It exhorts the countries concerned to seek a just and lasting solution in order to achieve the unification of their territories by peaceful methods without outside interference or pressure.

The conference, considering that foreign pressure and intervention to impose changes in the political, economic and social system chosen by a country are contrary to the principles of international law and peaceful coexistence, requests the government of the United States of America to lift the commercial and economic blockade against Cuba.

The conference takes note of the readiness of the Cuban government to settle its difference with the United States on a normal footing, and invites these two governments to enter into negotiations to this end and in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation.

Settlement of disputes without threat or use of force in accordance with the principles of the United Nations charter. The participating countries deem it essential to reaffirm the principles that all states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

The participating countries gave special attention to the problems of frontiers which may threaten international peace or disturb friendly relations among states, and are convinced that in order to settle such problems all states should resort to negotiations, mediation or arbitration or other peaceful means set forth in the United Nations charter in conformity with the legitimate rights of all peoples.

The conference considers that disputes between neighbouring states must be settled peacefully in a spirit of mutual understanding, without foreign intervention or interference.

General and complete disarmament: peaceful use of atomic energy, prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests, establishment of nuclear-free zone, prevention of nuclear weapons and abolition of all nuclear weapons:

The conference urges the great powers to take new and urgent steps towards achieving general and compleete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The conference requests the great powers to abstain from all policies conducive to the dissemination of nuclear weapons and their by-products among those states which do not at present possess them. It underlines the great danger in the dissemination of nuclear weapons and urges all states particularly those possessing nuclear weapons, to conclude non dissemination aggreements and to agree on measures providing for the gradual liquidation of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

The conference considers that the declaration by African States regarding the denuclearisation of Africa, the aspirations of the Latin American countries to denuclearise their continent and the various proposals partaining to the denuclearisation of tion of areas in Europe and Asia are steps in the right direction.

The conference also requests the powers to respect these denuclearised zones.

The conference is convinced that the convening of world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations to which all countries would be invited would provide powerful support to the efforts which are being made to set in motion the process of disarmament and for securing the further and steady development of this process.

Military pacts, foreign troops and bases:

The conference reiterates its convictions that the existence of military blocs, great power alliances and pacts arising therefrom has accentuated the cold war and heightened international tensions in the non-aligned countries are therefore opposed to taking part in such pacts and alliances.

The conference considers the maintenance or future establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on the territories of other countries, against the expressed will of those countries, as a gross violation of the sovereignty of states, and as threat to freedom and international peace. It furthermore considers as particularly indefensible the existence or future establishment of bases in dependent territories which could be used for the maintenance of colonialism and for other purposes.

The conference declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and calls upon all states maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith.

The conference considers that the maintenance at Guantanamo (Cuba) of a military base of the United States of America, in defiance of the will of the government and people of Cuba, constitutes a violation of Guba's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Noting that the Cuban government expresses its readiness to settle its dispute over the base of Guantanamo with the United States in the normal way, the conference urges the United States government to negotiate the evacuation of this base with the Cuban government.

The conference condemns the expressed intention of imperialist powers to establish bases in the Indian Ocean, as a calculated attempt to intimidate emerging countries of Africa and Asia and an unwarranted extention of the policy of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

The conference also recommends the elimination of the foreign bases in Cyprus and the withdrawal of foreign troops from this country.

The United Nations: its role in international affairs, implementation of its resolution and amendment of its resolution and amendment of its charter:

The participating countries declare:

In order to be an effective instrument, the United Nation Organisation must be open to all the States of the world. It is particarly necessary that countries still under colonial domination should attain independence without delay and take their rightfull place in the community of nations.

The influence and effectiveness of the United Nations also depends upon equitable representation of different geographical regions in the various organs of the United Nations and in the service of the United Nations.

Recalling the recommendation of the Belgrade conference the conference asks the general assembly of the United Nations to restore the rights of the People's Republic of China and to recognise the representatives of its government as the only legitimate representative of China in the United Nations.

Economic development and cooperation.

The heads of states or governments participating in this conference conviced that economic emancipation an essential element in the struggle for the elimination of political domination, that respect for the peoples and nations to control and dispose freely of their national wealth and resources is vital for their economic development; and call upon participating countries to concert measures to bring about closer economic relations among the developing countries on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual assistance, bearing in mind the obligations of all developing countries to accord favourable consideration to the expansion of their reciprocal trade, to unite against all forms of economic exploitation and to strengthen mutual consultation.

Cultural, scientific and educational co-operation and consolidation of the international and regional organisations working for this purpose.

The heads of state or government participating in the conference:

Recommend that international cooperation in education should be promoted in order to secure a fair opportunity for education to every person in every part of the world, propose that a free and more systematic exchange of scientific information be encouraged and intensified, and agree that participating countries should adopt measures to strengthen their ties with one another in the fields of education, science and culture.

What Our papers Say

IMROZE (Lahore).

"No power had the right to interfere in the Congo's internal affairs through military intervention or direct aggression under the disguise of "holy peacemakers".

"The main aim of America and Belgium in attacking Stanleyville was to suppress the armed forces of the Congolese people so as to clear the way for the white mercenary troops of Moise Tshombe.

"All African nationalist leaders and all the African people had strongly protested against this Western armed intervention, but America did not seem to take any notice of the protest."

LE NATIONALISTE (Phnom Penh)

"A century ago, big Western powers seized the pretext that a missionary had been beheaded to send their warships and troops to punish the 'faithless barand install the greatest possible number barians', station toops for 'protection' of firms. Today, the technique and pretexts had changed, but the spirit remain the same. An American killed by a negro was an atrocius crime, while a hundred negroes massacred was a punishment well deserved."

(Continued from page 23)

(profits) of the "Union Miniere" have increased from 2.411.000.000 francs to 3.536.000.000 francs, the dividends for every share have mounted from 1.500 to 2.200 francs.

As the weekly "Jeune Afrique" points out, speculation presently has broken loose on the Congolese shares. After the American armed intervention, the "Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga" (Mining Union of Upper Katanga) has seen its shares go up from F. 82,20 to 88,30 ; those from the "Compagnie de Katanga" have mounted from 79,80 to 89,70.

The American participation is of particular importance in the enterprises for the digging of uranium, this primary substance for the production of atomic bombs. Since the second world war, the American military authorities have been very much interested in Congolese uranium.

Finally, it is interesting to take note of the fact that the representative of the United States at the UNO, Mr. Adlai Stevenson is president of the firm "Tempelsman and Sun", which specialises in digging diamonds in the Congo and that Mr. Arthur Dean, leader of the American delegation to the conferences for disarmament, is vice-president of the "American Metal",- very important consumer of Congolese uranium.

THE MIRROR (Rangoon).

"The US is losing seriously in South Vietnam. It is in a very difficult position".

"In this situation, US imperialism was scheming to extend its aggression to North Vietnam in an attempt to extricate itself from the difficult position in South Vietnam".

"Socialist countries do not want war. But for sake of maintaining their dignity and principles, they do not fear to fight a war".

EL-RAI AL-AMM (KHARTUM).

"The Chinese government warned imperialists in its recent statement that it would provide full support to the brotherly Congolese people. How powerful and great is the support of seven hundred million people.

"The great Chinese people have extended a helping hand to the African people on many occasion. When the Congolese people are liberated from the imperialists and their lackeys, they will not forget the kindness of the brotherly Chinese people in their great support to their just cause".

MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION.

"The colonialist powers would never be reconciled to the loss of the rich resources of their African colonies. Independence of African colonies was painful to them. Today, as in the past, they have resumed the policy of direct aggression. Therefore a great threat faces the whole African continent.

"The US had supplied 500 million dollars worth of arms to Portugal from 1951 to 1961. These arms were being used by Portugal to suppress the national independence movement in Mozambique".

LE PROGRES EGYPTIEN (Cairo).

"The US and Belgian intervention in the Congo had met with quick resistance from the Congolese people and would end in the defeat of imperialism".

SAMAJ (Kathmandu).

"The US imperialists openly attacked the Congo (L). They neither respect other's sovereignty and independence nor international law".

The paper demanded that the United States and Belgium stop their aggression in the Congo.

LE PEUPLE (Mauritania).

"We strongly condemn the airdropping of the Belgian soldiers into Stanleyville. We declare together with whole of Africa that this is an inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of the Congo (L), and an insult to the entire African people.

HANGING OF S. A PATRIOTS BRUTAL — A A J A

In a statement issued on the 14th November, the Secretariat of the AAJA vehemently denounces and vigorously condemns the barbaric and brutal execution of three South African patriots Vuisili Mini, Wilson Kainga and Zinakoli Kabe by the Verwoerd fascist regime in South Africa. The statement calls the hanging brutish to the extreme, as an insult to the African peoples, and as further proof that only a complete and revolutionary change in the body politic in South Africa can create conditions wherein the peoples of S. Africa can live in peace and harmony.

The statement reads as full :

In defiance of the combined opposition and condemation by the whole of Africa, Asia and other progressive peoples, the fascist regime of Verwoerd has with brutish unconcern executed the three African patriots for opposing the inhuman and barbaric Apartheid laws of fascist South Africa.

Up to now forty four freedom fighters in South Africa had been sentenced to death by the White Supremacists. Their only offence being the urge to live like other decent human beings in a democratic society. To rid themselves of an exploitative society, where oppression is the most rife in the world today, where people are hounded into ghetoes, where 1000 Africans are jailed daily, where 80% of the land "belong" to 13% of the population, where all progressives are jailed, hounded and murdered.

The Secretariat of the AAJA urgently calls upon all its members, upon all progressive and fighting journalists, upon all freedom loving peoples the whole world through to not only vigorously condemn this outrageous insult to the African peoples, but to help the liberatory movement in South Africa, overtly in all forms to eradicate the barbarism practiced by the Verwoerd regime on the pretext of maintaining 'western christian civilisation'.

We demand the immediate and unconditional release of all the remaining freedom fighters now languishing in jail.

The AAJA notes that the 'strength' of White Supremacy lies in the moral and material support it gets from the British, United States and other imperialists countries, who refuse to honour even the UNO General Assembly resolutions calling for economic and diplomatic sanctions of South Africa, not to mention their continued refusal to heed the strong condemnations of the whole Afro-Asian peoples.

In conclusion the AAJA believes and reiterate that only a complete and revolutionary change in the body politic in South Africa can create conditions wherein the peoples of South Africa can live in peace, and affirms its complete support to the liberatory movement in South Africa.

(SEE 'THE CASE OF ROBERT SO BUKWE' P.8)

NEWS and VIEWS

AAJA.

The Friendship Delegation of AAJA led by Joesoef, Deputy Secretary-General came back to Djakarta on Nov. 2.

AAJA sent Mr. Umar Said as its representative to attend the Hanoi International Conference for solidarity with the people of Vietnam, against US imperialist aggression and for the defence of peace (Nov. 25-29).

The Third Plenary Meeting of AAJA Secretariat was held Nov. 27-29, in Bandung. Secretaries from Indonesia, Japan, China, Pakistan, Syria, Algeria, Mali, South Africa took part to the session. Those from Ceylon and Zambia came later.

CEYLON.

More than eighty thousand people of all walks of life demonstrated and met in Colombo in Dec. 9 expressing their strong support for the government to take over the Lake House, the biggest press monopoly in Ceylon.

They carried aloft banners and flags and shouted slogan "Down with the Lake House" and other slogans condemning former Minister for Land, Irrigation and Power C.P. De Silva crossing over to opposition parties in voting down the throne speech on December 3, in the House of Representatives.

THE CONGO (LEO).

Armed aggression against the Congolese (Leopoldville) province of Orientale was started at dawn Nov. 24, by the United States in collusion with the Belgians.

GHANA.

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana said on Nov. 15 that all national press organs are „our principal weapons in the struggle for the complete freedom and unity of Africa", in his message marking the publication of 100 issue of the „Spark" weekly.

Nkrumah concluded his message by urging all press organs in Africa to unmask neo-colonialism.

JAPAN.

Delegation of Japan Council of AAJA visiting China on occasion of its National Day celebration contacted with Indonesian Journalist Delegation in Peking and after friendly discussions on problems of interest to both sides published a memorandum on Oct. 15. Both sides declared their determination to co-operate each other in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new.

KOREA.

The Central Committee of the Korean Journalists' Union issued a statement Nov. 26 denouncing the barbarous suppression of South Korean pressmen by the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique.

PANAMA.

3.000 Panamanian students and workers held an anti-U.S. meeting in Panama City on November 26 demanding the abolition of the unequal 1903 „Panama-U.S. Treaty".

This was the fourth large-scale anti-U.S. demonstration held by the Panamanians in eight days.

PAUJ.

The Pan-African Union of Journalists in a statement Dec. 3, protested against the persecution of two South African journalists Hugh Francis Lewin and Raymond Eissenstein, by the white racist government and called for their immediate release.

The Steering Committee Meeting of PAUJ began Dec. 15, at Algiers. Secretariat of AAJA sent Azhary and Adnan as its representative to attend the Meeting.

VENEZUELA.

The Venezuelan public indignantly protested in early December against the closure of the paper „La Extra" and the magazine „Venezuela Grafica" by the Leoni Government. Both were suppressed for reporting guerrilla operations.

The paper „Ultimas Noticias" in an editorial denounced the government's attempt to stifle the freedom of the press, it said: „We shall mobilize national public opinion to stop this base conduct of the Leoni regime".

(Continued from page 26)

The US aggressors suffered so severe a blow from recent heroic attacks of the South Vietnamese liberation army at Bien Hoa US air bases, that leading circles in Washington seemed to have been cast into confusion in their pursuit of war policy in Indo-china. But air raids against Cambodian territory show that the US aggressors are determined to expand war in Indo-china by every means. It must be an urgent task of all Afro-Asian Journalists in close co-operation with Cambodian and other Afro-Asian, Latin American peoples to keep highest vigilance to the schemes of the US imperialists and to crush instantly their every aggressive attempt.

We are convinced that the heroic Cambodian people will achieve final victory in their struggle against US imperialism.

STATEMENT OF SECRETARIAT, AAJA ON THE SUPPRESSION OF NEWSPAPERMEN IN SOUTH KOREA.

Recently, the Pak Jung Hi regime of South Korea has been perpetrating open suppression against the progressive South Korean pressmen who have tried to reflect the public opinion truely.

On November 21, by the instigation of the US imperialists, the Pak Jung Hi regime illegally arrested the director of the editorial board and a journalist of the political section of the South Korean paper "Chosun Ilbo" on the charge of having issued special write-ups on the country's unification, and seized its issue of that date and banned its distribution.

Earlier, they jailed Whang Ryong Joo, director of „Radio Moonwha" in Seoul, and suspended the journal „Sedai" which had carried his article. The only reason for that is that he had contributed an article concerning the question of the country's unification to the journal „Sedai" and that this journal had published his article.

It is a challenge to the elementary norm of democratic freedom and an intolerable act of crime.

It is not the first time the Pak Jung Hi regime committed act of suppression against the press. It is well known to the whole world that they even perpetrate such an act of punishing pressmen to death, the example of which can hardly be found in the history of the press.

Needless to say, it is a vicious treachery to smother the just aspiration of the South Korean people for unification, to perpetuate the split of Korea and to keep Korea under the yoke of the US imperialism.

The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association resolutely denounces such fascist repression of press activities by the South Korean regime.

The South Korean regime should stop immediately its fascist suppression against the press and speech and release unconditionally the arrested and imprisoned pressmen.

The Secretariat expresses militant solidarity with the South Korean pressmen in their stduggle for freedom of spetch and the press, and appeals to the progressive men of speech and the press in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world to denounce the suppression of the press by the South Korean regime and to give support and encouragement to the South Korean pressmen who are fighting to reflect the true public opinion.

The US imperialists should get out of South Korea at once and the Korean problem should be solved by the Korean people themselves.

(Dec. 11, 1964).

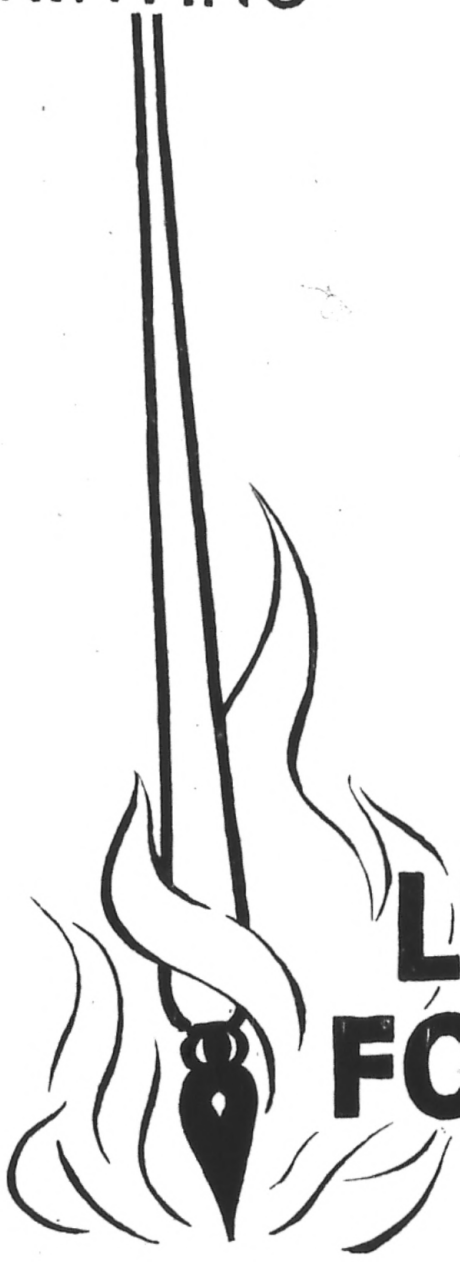
LIBRARY
PUBLISHING
PRINTING

"Patrice Lumumba is dead. But his Indomitable spirit in placing his country on the map of Africa as an independent and sovereign State will continue to guide and inspire the struggling countries of Asia and Africa in achieving their own independence. His gruesome murder not only shocked the conscience of the civilized world but convinced it beyond doubt that unless imperialism and colonialism are buried a hundred fathoms deep there will be no peace in the world. The happenings in the Congo, Angola, South Africa, Palestine and Kashmir vividly illustrate the varied conspiratorial forms the imperialists and colonialists can assume and the extent to which they can go in achieving their nefarious ends.

"At the earliest opportunity, the journalists of Asia and Africa who met in Djakarta for the first time in April 1963, condemned the foul murder of Lumumba in the strongest terms possible. But the Journalists of Indonesia deserve our highest admiration for their initiative and noble ideals in establishing at Djakarta the Patrice Lumumba Foundation that aims at building a library and a publishing house for publishing material concerning all aspects of life of Asian and African nations in particular and the new emerging forces in general. No better tribute can be paid to the memory of the Great Hero and Patriot of the Congo than the setting up of the Patrice Lumumba Foundation which will be a fresh source of unity and solidarity among the Afro-Asian nations."

Asrar Ahmad

(Pres. Federal Union of Journalists — Pakistan, and Secretary to the AAJA)



LUMUMBA FOUNDATION

DJAKARTA